

THE FIRST MEDALS OF AMERICA



BY PETER JONES MA, MD, MBA

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**COMITIA
AMERICANA AND
ASSOCIATED MEDALS**

**by
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction and Franklin.....	7
Chapter 2. Medals procured by Franklin: De Fleury 1779 and Libertas 1783.....	15
Chapter 3. Dupré's Franklin Medals 1784 & 1786.....	22
Chapter 4. Medals procured by Humphreys 1787: Gates and Greene.....	27
Chapter 5. Jefferson 1789: Washington before Boston Medal.....	37
Chapter 6. Jefferson 1789: two remaining Stony Point Medals, Wayne & Stewart.....	46
Chapter 7. Jefferson 1789: 3 Cowpens medals; Morgan, William Washington & Howard..	52
Chapter 8. William Short 1789: Jones Medal.....	66
Chapter 9. Jefferson and Short: Diplomatic Medal.....	71
Chapter 10. Lee Paulus Hook Medal.....	77
Chapter 11. Related medals: Treaty of Paris, Lafayette.....	82
Table of types of Comitia Americana Medals and prices, Timeline, Lists, Index.....	92

Preface

In 1985, eight months after receiving a free Morgan Dollar in the mail, I started attending our local coin club, the Mansfield Numismatic Society, in Connecticut. The next month I went to a coin show and bought a 1964 mint set. This was the last year the US made regular issue 90% silver coins. I also bought a “War Nickel” (a war issue from 1942 to 1945 which substituted silver for nickel, a critical war material). And a “Steel Cent” (also a 1943 war issue which substituted steel for copper, another critical war material).

Two months later I bid on a coin at our coin club auction. The coin had the date 1787 and everybody said it was American. I had no idea America made coins then, but thought, “How can I go wrong for \$55?” It turned out to be a Very Fine Fugio copper, the first coin authorized by the United States. Even in 1985, when I could buy such a historic coin, people still did not appreciate American colonials. Numismatics was growing on me.

Every year for two weeks I traveled to “coin camp” in Colorado Springs, run by the American Numismatic Association. I took courses on colonial coins, paper money, foreign money, medieval money, then medals.

Medals have more real estate to put your artistry on. I also took courses on how to photograph coins — a specialized area. Even expert photographers often have no idea how to photograph coins and medals. They are eye candy for collectors. What better way to preserve our collections than by photography? I thought of producing a book with just photographs. But that seemed sterile, so I added the story behind the medals. The essence of numismatics to me is not only the beauty of each coin or medal, but the story behind them.

I do not collect medals with astronomical prices. When a medal is too pricey, I substitute a copy, especially electrotypes — faithful copies of the original medal.

While I have many coins and medals, I do not have everything. I am indebted to Heritage Auctions (HA.com) who have kindly agreed to allow me to copy images.

The American Continental Congress ordered America’s first medals. Comitia Americana is Latin for the American Congress. Comitia Americana medals were not just your local county fair medals. They were a labor of love of the founding fathers to award distinguished patriots for risking their lives. War is not glamorous; it is disgusting, violent and bloody. These medals are some of the most precious symbols of the birth of a new America. They are the birth of American numismatics.

But they had an extended gestation. Nevertheless, all but one were born before the US Mint began. The Continental Congress awarded each to courageous warriors for valor. Each medal involved an Act of Congress — before Congress produced standardized medals. Each medal has its own story. As they say in *Law and Order* — “these are their stories”.

Foreword by Neil Musante

For the collector, I would imagine that completing a set of original-strike silver *Comitia Americana* medals would be an accomplishment roughly equivalent to the mountaineer who achieves all Seven Summits — twice. Putting together a complete set of these historic medals in any metal is a daunting task, and one might ask why even attempt it? But unlike the climber standing at the base of Chomolungma, who when asked the same question might have replied “because it’s there,” the answer for the collectors is far more complicated. Part of the challenge is that, unlike the tallest mountain on each continent, these medals are *NOT* always there. The closest anyone has come to duplicating the legendary Washington/Webster set at the Massachusetts Historical Society is John W. Adams, whose collection was recently sold by Stack’s, Bowers. In some ways, the Adams collection was actually superior to the MHS set. (That is, if anything could be superior to a set of medals handled by both Thomas Jefferson and George Washington). While it is true that he lacked three of the medals in silver — Anthony Wayne, Nathanael Greene and John Stewart, which were present in copper — what made his set equivalent, was the number of clichés that it included.

Adams opined that the medals brought him close to the events they depicted. “I will tell you that, when holding a *Comitia Americana* medal in my hand, I connect to the event being commemorated.” For book collectors, the concept of the “first edition” is that, somehow, the first printing or first edition of a book brings one closer to the events portrayed and even closer to the author’s “pen.” Following this logic, the closest we might hope to come to our favorite author would be to own the manuscript. This, would be then followed by the publisher’s uncorrected proof, which would in turn be followed by an “advance reading copy,” and finally the “first edition.”

In medal engraving or die sinking there are several similar steps. At the time the *Comitia* medals were made, there likely would have been a sketch, followed by a clay or plaster “bas relief.” This would have been followed by a hub or two, and finally the finished die. In the process of making the die, the artist might have made any number of clichés, or lead positive impressions, showing the progress of the work. These should perhaps be considered the equivalent of an author’s “uncorrected proof.” Certainly they were the artist’s proofs and, as such, greatly esteemed by the sophisticated collector. The Adams collection was awash in them. If, like medals, books bring us closer to the events they portray, whatever the subject at hand, we must look at them as the gateway to that pursuit.

The first book to include descriptions of the *Comitia Americana* medals was published in 1848. Thomas Wyatt’s *Memoirs of the Generals, Commodores and other Commanders, who distinguished themselves in the American army and navy during the wars of the Revolution and 1812, and who were presented with medals by Congress for their gallant services*, is a good place to start if one simply wants a basic introduction to the medal recipients. Unfortunately, it contains nothing of numismatic importance and is of little value to the collector today. Wyatt’s greater contribution to the field (if one can call it that) were the cast copies of these medals that he made and dispersed widely.

James Ross Snowden also offered descriptions of the medals in his 1861 book, *A Description of the Medals of Washington; of National and Miscellaneous Medals; and of Other Objects of Interest in the Museum of the Mint...* but, it too lacks anything in the way of numismatic assistance. A far better resource was J.F. Loubat’s, *The Medallic History of the United States of America, 1776-1876*. Loubat offered not only accurate and complete descriptions, but he presented the original legislation followed by field reports of the various commanding officers involved with each action, giving clear and precise details of the events that precipitated the awards. For the history alone, this work is invaluable. Another great early resource is C. Wyllys Betts’ *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, edited by W.T.R. Marvin and Lyman Low, and published in 1894. It is a must for collectors of this series, and is the first reference that begins to offer numismatic guidance (size, weights, metals, disposition of dies etc., etc.)

Coming into the present day, *Comitia Americana and Related Medals*, by John W. Adams and Anne E. Bentley, published by George Frederick Kolbe in 2007, is the one essential item! No collector of this series should be without it. If you combine it with the Stack’s Bowers catalog of *The John W. Adams Collection*, brilliantly written by John Kraljevich, you have the beginning, middle and end on the subject as it pertains to the original strikes.

Now, with the publication of Peter Jones’s wonderful book on the subject that includes, for the first time, numismatic information on the various restrikes, electrotypes and copies one completes the Pentateuch (Loubat, Betts, Adams/Bentley, Kraljevich, Jones). Peter is English and offers a really fun perspective on the subject. I enjoyed reading his work and learned a great deal from it. I can only say thanks to Peter for writing such an erudite, fun and concise guide to these medals. His perspective is brilliant and I will refer back to this book at least as often as I do to the others!

Neil Musante

Dedication

To my wife, Ann, who has patiently withstood my serial addictions to the demands of medical practice, magic, classical piano playing, an MBA, flamenco guitar lessons, classical guitar playing, and all the way along numismatics and paper money collecting.

To my three daughters, violinist Ashley, architect Rebecca, and photographer Alexandra, who have also put up with the same addictions
To the American Numismatic Association — an important organization that has fostered my lasting interest in financial history. To them I owe my numismatic education.

CHAPTER ONE

MEDALS COMMISSIONED BY FRANKLIN

People like to feel appreciated. That is why salespeople find out your name, and address you by your name and title. As a physician, I saw pharmaceutical representatives. Their incantation was "Doctor," before every sentence!

Old Kingdom Egypt (2686-2181 BCE) awarded the order of the Golden Collar for valor. Romans and Celts awarded torqs — stiff metal neck rings for valor. Romans awarded phalera — sculpted discs that soldiers wore on their breastplates. Medieval kings and nobles continued with necklaces and bracelets for military awards. Necklaces started sporting pendants (commonly medals). For sports, achievement or valor today, we award trophies or medals that can be suspended or placed on a table.

In 1433 Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy founded a Catholic order of chivalry called the Distinguished Order of the Golden Fleece. This was to celebrate his marriage. The masters of the order have only awarded 1,201 awards over the last 600 years.



Duke Philip III wearing collar of the order.



Collar of Order of Golden Fleece.

They chose the golden fleece as a symbol of ancient Greek mythology. The golden fleece of Colchis was from the golden-fleeced and winged ram, Chrysomallos, which symbolized authority and kingship. King Pelias ordered Jason and his Argonauts (named after their ship Argo) to find the fleece.

And with Medea's help they found it. Medea was the daughter of the King of Colchis and granddaughter of the sun god Helios. King Pelias then made Jason King of Colchis.

What did the golden fleece mean? One interpretation was that gold seekers stretched fleeces over wooden frames to pick up placer gold deposits in streams in Georgia. Others placed the fleece on tables in moving streams which would trap alluvial gold.



Carlos III 4 Escudo 1787 proudly displaying his Order of Golden Fleece. #1757

Romans gave gold medals as gifts. Augustus Caesar collected coins and also liked to give them as gifts. Medals resurfaced in the 1400s in Italy during the renaissance, when the wealthy used them as calling cards. A famous artist would sculpt the medal and cast multiple copies in bronze (see the example below).



Lorenzo de Medici ca. 1490.

There are different types of medals. Some are given as awards to be worn around the neck or on the chest. Others are to savor as table medals. Some commemorate events, others people. Some are made as objets d'art. There are thus two classifications: first, table versus suspended medals; and second, award medals versus commemorative and art medals.

While Washington was leading the fight against the English during the American Revolution, the idea of recognizing courageous leaders came up. One way of recognizing such a leader was promotion. Another way was to award a medal. But our nascent America did not have the technology to produce medals. Franklin, David Humphreys and Jefferson lived for a while in Paris. And Paris had one of the finest mints and group of medallic artists in the world. Also, Jefferson was a medal and coin collector, and knew a lot about them.

Had Washington recognized Benedict Arnold more with a promotion or significant post, he may not have defected to the British. But medals would not have worked: the problem with these medals at the time was that they took forever — around ten years after the battles! Franklin, Jefferson and others had the Paris Mint produce them before the US Mint produced its first coins in 1792. They are important parts of early American history.

Comitia Americana is Latin for American Congress, as it was Congress who ordered the medals struck. I will abbreviate Comitia Americana to CA.

While it would be nice for collectors to be able to collect original Paris strikes of all these medals, it is impossible. Rather, Paris restrikes, gunmetal restrikes, US Mint restrikes, and electrotypes are the only collectable way for ordinary mortals to assemble a CA collection.

Jefferson put together a set of 11 CA silver medals for Washington. These now reside in the Massachusetts Historical Society. John Kraljevich calls these the premier numismatic property in America. Curator, Ann Bentley, was kind enough to allow me to handle all of them. Remarkably they have all been polished! Years ago I remember my parents polishing the family silver. People have proudly polished their silver for centuries!

Thomas Jefferson and John Jay suggested that Congress give a copper set of medals to every American College and to all distinguished non-British Universities. They also suggested a silver set for every crowned head of Europe (except England) and for China. In 1789 Jefferson listed 66 silver sets for Europe and Congress, and 237 bronze sets for Europe and Congress. Ultimately Congress voted for 350 sets of CA medals! Jefferson estimated the project's cost at over \$40,000 for nine medals. The boxes to house them would cost even more!

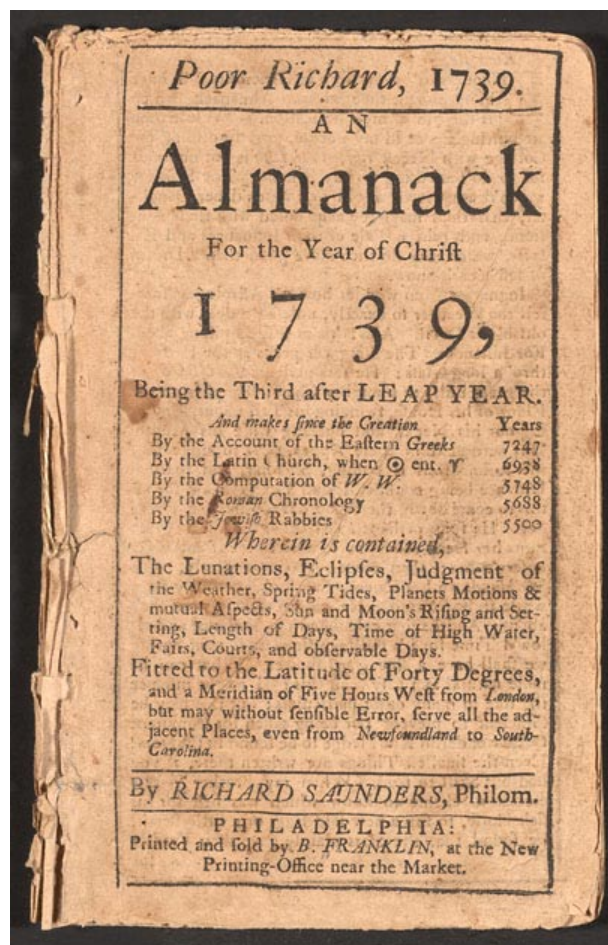
After the American Revolution, America was deeply in debt. So, the prospect of spending \$40,000-50,000 on medals seemed excessive. But Jefferson, the coin collector, viewed this as political PR. I can imagine what Congress did! They nodded, smiled and did nothing!

Jefferson presented his set of 11 silver medals to Washington in New York in March 1790. Martha Washington inherited the set. When she died in 1802, her executors sold it for \$141 to a Rev. Lewis. One of his descendants, Robert Lewis pawned the set! Sen. Daniel Webster then bought the set in 1827 from that pawn shop.

When he died in 1850, he left the set to his grandson Daniel Webster Appleton (1845-1872). Appleton used the set as security for a loan from W. Elliot Woodward, the coin dealer. Webster's biographer, Peter Harvey, "redeemed" the medals from Woodward and presented the medals to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1874. John Adams and Anne Bentley in their book, *Comitia Americana*, also record many other sets, though not all complete or original Paris strikes.

Benjamin Franklin

Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) was a founding father, polymath, printer, author, statesman, philanthropist, scientist, and inventor. He taught himself French, Italian, Spanish and Latin. He invented the lightening rod, bifocal spectacles, the potbelly stove, a carriage odometer, a flexible urinary catheter, and an automated glass harmonica. He started the first American public lending library, the first fire department in Pennsylvania, the first hospital in America, the University of Pennsylvania, and the American Philosophical Society.



He published a wildly successful book which he called "Poor Richard's Almanac." This was often the only book in colonial households. It included many aphorisms like: "\$100 earned \$99 spent equals happiness, \$100 earned \$101 spent equals bankruptcy." Others were: "time is money", "early to bed, early to rise, make a man healthy, wealthy and wise", "sloth makes all things difficult, but industry, all easy", "there are no gains without pain", "mind your business", "a small leak will sink a great ship", "for age and want, save while you may; no morning sun lasts a whole day", "nothing is certain except death and taxes".

More than anyone, he invented the idea of the American nation. His protestant ethic, humanism and enlightenment were part of the birth of American freedom and capitalism. Franklin was a friend of the Scottish philosopher Adam Smith. Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* in 1776 was the most seminal economic work of its time. Dr. Simon N. Patten, a famous American economist, said Franklin was the one who urged Adam Smith to write it.

Franklin was also the first American to write a self-help book, *The Way to Wealth*. He pushed the ideas of hard work, thrift, education, and self-government, and preferred this to authoritarianism. He said, cultivate your business, do not get into debt, and do not live above your means. "A plowman on his feet is higher than a gentleman on his knees".

His father, Josiah, was born in England and immigrated to Boston in 1683, where he worked as a tallow chandler. After his first wife died, Josiah married Abiah Folger, born in Nantucket. Despite only two years of schooling, Benjamin became an avid reader. Josiah apprenticed him when he was 12 to his brother James, a printer. James exploded when Benjamin, aged 17, corresponded with his newspaper under a pseudonym. Benjamin then ran away to Philadelphia.

There, the Pennsylvania Governor, Sir William Keith, chanced upon a letter Franklin wrote. Keith was impressed and promised him he would pay to set him up with a newspaper in London. But unbeknown to Franklin, Keith was famous for empty promises. Franklin moved to London where he worked as a compositor until returning to America aged 20 to work for a merchant named Denham. On his voyage home he wrote his own guide to life, enumerating principles he would live by: industry, sobriety, chastity and others. It is debatable how much he stuck to the chastity principle!

Aged 21 he created the Junto, a self-help group who created a subscription library because books were so expensive at the time. This was perhaps the first modern self-help movement. The Junto later morphed into the American Philosophical Society.

At 24 Franklin started his own printery and published '*The Pennsylvania Gazette*'. He became a freemason at 25 and by 28 was Grand Master. Aged 27 he published '*Poor Richard's Almanac*' selling 10,000 copies a year. Franklin courted the 17-year-old Deborah Read while boarding in her home in Philadelphia. But she married another man who became bankrupt and fled to Barbados. Franklin had an illegitimate son, William, either with her or with a "lady of the evening".

After Deborah's husband had fled the country, Benjamin, aged 24, lived with her in a common law marriage from 1730 on. Their first child Francis died aged 4 of smallpox; the second, Sally, married but remained very close to her father. Deborah had a phobia of sea travel so never traveled with Benjamin. In 1774, aged 66, she died of a stroke while Franklin was in England. Their son, William would later become a British sympathizer, which Benjamin would never forgive. William settled in England.



Deborah Read Franklin ca. 1759



Sally, Franklin's daughter

Franklin worked with a cousin, Timothy Folger, who was a Nantucket Whaler Captain. They charted the oceans and the Gulf Stream showing sailors how they could gain two weeks in sailing time. Franklin became a scientific researcher, especially of electricity. Aged 42, he retired from his lucrative printery by forming a partnership with his foreman David Hall. Franklin's deal included half the profits for 18 years. Hall later took on Sellers as a partner. Together they printed Continental Currency.

Franklin was the first person to label electricity by positive and negative charges. He also showed that lightening and cloud charges were electricity. He was the first foreigner to receive the Royal Society's Copley medal at the age of 47. They later elected him Fellow. He also demonstrated and described evaporative cooling, which would later lead to refrigeration. He wrote papers on climatology, including waterspouts and whirlwinds. Also he showed that storms did not always move in the direction of the wind.

An accomplished musician, he also played the violin, guitar, and harp and wrote a string quartet. He was also an avid chess player and made many inventions. My God, what didn't he do!

Aged 30 he printed New Jersey currency. He invented anti-counterfeiting devices that he incorporated into his currency, including nature prints in 1739, secret border cut signs, and marbled paper. He devised the emblems and mottoes for Continental Currency from a book in his library by Joachim Camerarius. Camerarius was a classical scholar who taught at Leipzig in the 1500s and published many works including one on numismatics. Another book showed pictorial devices for illustration with Latin mottoes, which Franklin used. Franklin also designed the "Rebus" used on fractional Continental Currency notes, the Continental Dollar, and the Fugio Coppers. A "Rebus" comes from the Latin for "by things" and means a word puzzle using pictures to represent words.



New Haven Fugio restrike obverse. #636

After a period of study from 42 to 48, Pennsylvania asked him to represent them at the Albany Congress in 1754. The Congress tried to get England's colonies to present a united front to the French and the Indians.

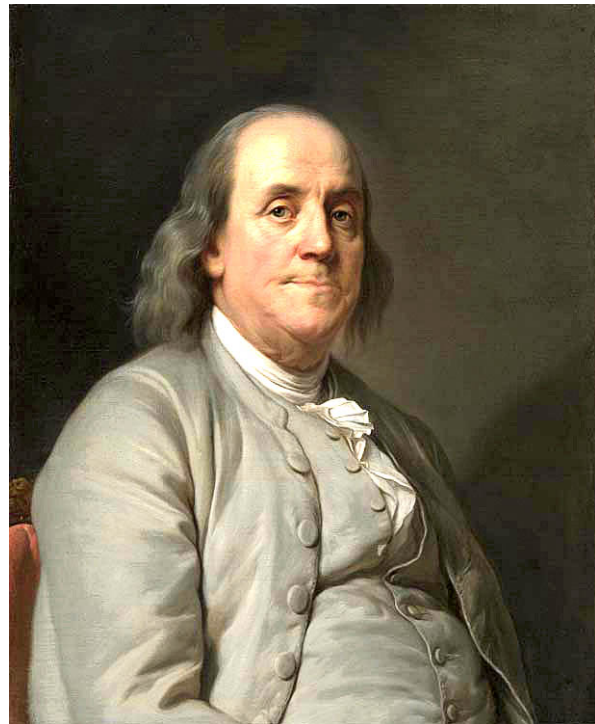
When the Penn family refused to pay taxes on their land to support the French and Indian War, they sent Franklin, aged 51, to England to protest. He failed in this effort. While in London 1757-1762 he secured the post of New Jersey colonial governor for his son William.

Benjamin returned in 1763 to defuse the Pontiac rebellion. Different Indian tribes successfully attacked many British forts in the Ohio Valley and settlers attacked Philadelphia to protest insufficient help against Indian raids. Then In 1764 Franklin miscalculated. He pushed change from a proprietary government under the Penn family, to a royal government. At this time he was a Royalist. Franklin lost his seat on the Pennsylvania Assembly. But they sent him back to England to protest the Penn proprietorship.

Having successfully argued against the Stamp Act in the House of Commons in 1766, he traveled the next year to Paris. There they greeted him as a celebrity scientist.

In 1771 while traveling around Ireland, the poverty associated with England's colonial exploitation struck him deeply. He also came across the private letters of Thomas Hutchinson, the Colonial Governor of Massachusetts. These showed Britain would abbreviate Boston's rights, so he sent these letters back to America.

The British now realized Franklin was an agitator. They called him before the Privy Council, surrounded by his friends and nobles, where for two hours they railed against him and ridiculed him. He entered the Privy Council that day a loyal British subject. He left, a revolutionary. Shortly after in 1775, to avoid arrest, he left England forever.



Franklin by Joseph Duplessis 1778

Back again in Philadelphia, they made Franklin the Pennsylvania delegate to Continental Congress. They also appointed him to the Committee of Five that drafted the Declaration of Independence. People often call Trumbull's painting the signing of the declaration of independence. Not true! It depicts the committee of five presenting their work to the Continental Congress.

Franklin is on the right of the five men standing in front of the desk. The others from the left are John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and Thomas Jefferson. Please see a blow up of the painting on the next page.



Detail from Declaration of Independence by John Trumbull 1819. Jefferson presents draft to John Hancock, President of Continental Congress. Franklin stands on right of five men.

America then sent Franklin as US Ambassador to France, where he stayed from 1776 to 1785. There he became the darling of French society, living in the Paris suburb of Passy. He was the Grand Master of the local Freemason lodge. Though he favored liberalism in France, he was against the violent revolution that took place later.

Franklin procures the de Fleury medal

The Second Continental Congress (1775-1781) voted on who should get medals. They wrote to Franklin asking him to arrange six medals (Washington before Boston, Gates, Wayne, Fleury, Stewart and Lee).

But Franklin was a diplomat, not a numismatist! He was busy keeping the French involved in the Revolutionary War. De Fleury wrote to him in January 1780 saying Louis XVI asked that Franklin send the medal directly to him! Two months later, Franklin wrote to John Hancock, President of the Second Continental Congress, that Duvivier charged him 2,000 livres (about \$330 or £80) for the engraving which he found, "beyond expectations."

Franklin wrote again in August 1780 that Duvivier, Chief Engraver of the Paris Mint, had finished and struck Fleury's medal. Franklin suggested Duvivier use the same medal for the Wayne and Stewart medals by grinding down the medal's exergue and re-engraving the obverse inscription! It looked like a lousy cheapo!

Military protocol dictated that Lt. Col. de Fleury's superiors, Maj. Gen. Wayne and Lt. Gen. Washington receive their medals before him. But Franklin was primarily a diplomat and wanted to butter up the King, not generate medals for Americans, so focused on the de Fleury medal.

Lt. Col. de Fleury returned to America in the summer of 1780 — too late to receive his medal. He wrote requesting one in gold too! But again protocol reserved gold medals for generals, silver for other officers, and bronze for enlisted men. When de Fleury returned to Paris in October 1783, Franklin sent him the silver medal. This dispels an old numismatic myth that a schoolboy dug the medal up in a Princeton garden!

Franklin the diplomat got the French to provide a bridging loan, send an army of 6,000 soldiers and a large squadron of French warships to America. Much more important than medals!

Franklin procures the Libertas medal

In October 1781 Robert Livingstone, Secretary of the Confederation Congress, wrote to Franklin telling him of America's victory at Yorktown. He suggested a commemorative pillar in Yorktown. Franklin wrote back suggesting instead a medal celebrating America's independence with France's help. Livingstone responded positively.

So, Franklin chose Augustin Dupré to engrave the Libertas Americana medal. He worked through an intermediary, Alexandre Théodore Brongniart, an architect and member of the French Académie.

Franklin paid for artistic services and medals all out of his own pocket. In April 1783 he presented two Libertas Americana gold medals to the French King and Queen, and silver medals to the King's Ministers. He also sent a silver medal to the President of the Confederation Congress (Elias Boudinot), and a copper one to Livingston.

In 1785 Franklin finally returned home. He was second only to George Washington as the champion of American Independence. Pennsylvania elected him President (equivalent to modern Governor) until 1788. By then he was too old to take part. He was the only founding father to have signed the Declaration of Independence, the Treaty of Paris, the Treaty of Alliance with France, and the US Constitution.

Franklin became disillusioned with organized religion and practiced Deism throughout much of his life. In 1725 he wrote, "*A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain*". He felt virtue and benevolence trumped religious dogma and religious obedience. He died of a lung abscess at 84. His will specified that his tombstone simply read, "Benjamin and Deborah Franklin."

While a Royalist, Franklin got the post of Colonial Governor of New Jersey for his son William. But after Benjamin became a revolutionary in 1775, his son refused to support him. He broke with his son and the two never spoke again, though some say they met in Southampton on Franklin's way back from France to America in 1785.

The New Jersey Provincial Congress arrested Franklin's son, William, in 1776 and jailed him as a prisoner of war. They released him in 1778. He then fled to British occupied New York City, working for the Royalists. As a Royalist leader, he approved the hanging without trial of Patriot Joshua Huddy. British General Clinton condemned the hanging. In 1782 William moved to England, never to return. He sent an official letter to his father in France in 1783. But it just contained the Oath of office as Secretary to the Commissioners to conclude peace with England.

William may have reconciled with his father through another letter sent in 1784. He sent a series of letters to him suggesting he visited him in France in 1784. But Benjamin wrote his autobiography between 1771 and 1788, and never directly mentioned him

It is easy for medal lovers to criticize Franklin's procrastination and politicization of the medals. But he was an ace ambassador for ten years (1776 to 1785). The French adored him. And he accomplished what others may not have. Winning the war trumped making medals.

The Medals

I will go through the medals in order of their striking, not the dates of battles. In the next chapter I will continue with the Libertas Americana and Fleury medals. Following this I will look at the 1784 and 1786 Franklin medals, then David Humphreys, who got two more medals completed. I am going through the story chronologically. The dates on the medals do not reflect when they struck them. The dates reflect only when the action was.

There are two lists of medals, one for bravery, and the other of related medals. Here are some lists to sort out a confusing area!

11 Bravery Medals and dates of action

Washington Before Boston	1776
Gates Saratoga	1777
Wayne Stony Point	1779
Fleury Stony Point	1779
Stewart Stony Point	1779
Lee Paulus Hook	1779
John Paul Jones	1779
Morgan Cowpens	1781
Howard Cowpens	1781
Wm Washington Cowpens	1781
Green Eutaw	1781

A lumped rather than split classification

1. Washington Before Boston 1776
 - Gates Saratoga 1777 British Northern plan
 - Greene Eutaw 1781 British Southern plan
2. Two sets of three medals:
 - Stony Point 1779 — Wayne
 - Fleury
 - Stewart
 - Cowpens 1781 — Morgan
 - Howard
 - Wm Washington
3. Two single medals 1779 Lee Paulus Hook, and Jones

Jaeger and Bowers' book, *100 Greatest American Medals and Tokens*, listed six in this list. This includes Libertas Americana (1.), Washington before Boston (2.), Nini's medallion, my selection (29.), Jones (35.), Gates Saratoga (56.) and Diplomatic medal (73.). To me the series is peerless.

15 medals in order struck and who procured them

Franklin	-	Fleury	1780
	-	Libertas Americana	1782
Dupré in France	-	Franklin Genius	1784
	-	Franklin Natus	1786
Humphreys	-	Gates	1787
	-	Greene	1787
Jefferson 1 st	-	Washington Boston	1789
	-	William Washington	1789
	-	Howard	1789

Jefferson 2 nd	-	Wayne	1789
	-	Stewart	1789
	-	Morgan	1789
Short	-	Jones	1789
	-	Diplomatic	1792
US	-	Lee	1793

The full CA collection comprises the 11 bravery medals, and four or five related medals, Libertas Americana, Diplomatic medal, and two or three Franklin medals. Adams and Bentley include a 1777 Franklin medal, perhaps made in England, of which only 11-12 exist (of which two are impounded). This makes it non-collectable to me, and I therefore prefer to insert the Nini terra cotta medal. To me this is the finest sculpted relief portrait of Franklin. I show Nini's superb 1777 medal opposite.

Richard Margolis has written a beautiful book listing and talking about dozens of different Nini terra cotta medals of Franklin. The book details how Nini struck up a friendship with Franklin. He modeled his profile in clay. He then engraved a steel die to reproduce terra cotta medallions. Nini hand retouched and finished each of them before firing. The plaques achieved great popularity in France. Nini shipped about 100 specimens to America in 1779, wrapping each carefully. But the ship wrecked off Noirmoutier, an island off France by the Loire estuary near Nantes. Salvors took the cargo to Nantes where it languished in a warehouse. Nini died in 1786. Around 1830, customs agents sold off the warehouse contents to navy agents. A collector, named Myrvoix, bought most of the medals and sold many to an official in Angouleme. He then had Spink market them in the nineteenth century for 25 shillings each.

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2612

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN UNIFACE TERRA COTTA PLAQUE BY JEAN BAPTISTE NINI 1777. BETTS 548; 115MM UNC

Before I started collecting I made this spread sheet of the medals so I would know what was what. Markedly inaccurate, I replace it with a more accurate one at the end of the book. This one is just to illustrate my early efforts.

DIES: ORIGINAL plain edges pre 1842, after 1842 edge devices as listed by Breen for Castorland medals.
GUN METAL Soft gun metal taken from medal broke easily often found with cuds. **COPY DIE** created by skilled engraver. **ELECTROTYPE**

As of 3/30/2020

COMITIA AMERICANA MEDALS

Auctions 2011-3

Acc#	My #	Engraver	Supervised by	Betts #	Grade	Date Made	Medal Date	Name	Obverse	Reverse	Comments	
1624	1	Duvivier	Jefferson	542	3	1789	1776	Washington	George	GW on horse points to departing	Gun Metal copy die by US Mint 1839 - 1891 \$500-\$2,000 depending on condition <100 made. Obv: "The American Congress to George Washington, commander in chief of the armies, the defender of liberty" Rev: GW on horse points to departing British Fleet, while American army readies to occupy city. "The enemy put to flight for the first time" "Boston retaken March 17, 1776"	Orig\$8500
			early 1789					Retaken Boston	Washington	Brit fleet		CopyAU\$1000
1816	2	Gattea	David	557	2	1787	1777	Gates	Bust Horatio	Burgoyne surrenders	Dies from Paris moved to Philadelphia where struck in bronze, originals sell for \$4000. Copy dies 1885. Obv: "American Congress to Horatio Gates, a valiant general". Rev: "The safety of the northern regions. The enemy surrendered at Saratoga on 17th October, 1777".	OrigAU\$4000
		ux	Humphreys					Saratoga	Gates	sword		
2395	3	Gattea	Jefferson	565	4	1789	1779	Stony Point	America presents wreath to	Battle across Hudson	Original Paris strikes \$15,000 or copy dies for \$2,500. Obv: America as Indian queen with bow, alligator, and American shield at her feet presents laurel wreath and mural crown to Gen Anthony Wayne. "The American Congress to Gen Anthony Wayne". Rev: view of both sides of Hudson River, showing Stony Point Fort in distance, a battery and troops in foreground, and 6 ships on river. "Stony Point carried by storm. July 15, 1779".	Copy
		ux	late 1789					Wayne	Wayne	River		ChEF\$1000
2083	4	Duvivier	Franklin	566	1	1780	1779	Stony Point	Helmeted	View of	Original dies from Paris \$15,000 or copy dies of 1870s done by Charles Barber US Mint \$1,000, only 47 struck. Obv: helmeted soldier in ruins of fort, holding unsheathed sword in right hand, and staff of enemy's flag in left, which he tramples. "A memorial and reward of courage and boldness. The American Republic presented this gift to D. de Fleury, a French knight, the first to mount the wall". Rev: View of fortress, flag flying, with 2 batteries below, one being discharged at one of 6 vessels shown on Hudson River. "Fortifications, marshes, enemies overcome. Stony Point carried by storm. July 15, 1779"	OrigEF\$6000
		er						DeFleury	Fleury	fortress		CopyAg\$6&19
2161	5	Wright	Jefferson	575	6	1793	1779	Lee and Paulus	Bust Maj	Inscription in Laurel	No originals available. Original obverse with copy reverse dies struck by US Mint after 1874 \$4,000. Obv: "The American Congress to Henry Lee, Major of cavalry" Rev: "Notwithstanding rivers and ramparts, he conquered the enemy with a handful of men by skill and valor, and attached by his humanity those vanquished by his arms". "In commemoration of the Battle of Paulus Hook, Aug 19, 1779"	CopyEF\$3k
			back in US					Hook	Henry Lee	Wreath		CopyBU\$4k
1810	6	Dupre	Jefferson	568	5	1789	1779	Jones	Bust Capt JP	Ship	Paris mint dies \$8,000 - \$10,000. Gun metal US Mint copy dies by Barre \$2,000 - \$3,000 varying with condition. Obv: "The American Congress to John Paul Jones, Commander of the fleet" Rev: Ship, Bonhomme Richard, on fire with her crew boarding the severely damaged Serapis. The Alliance, consort of the Richard, stands off to left beyond 2 sailors in water clinging to a spar. "The enemy's ships captured or put to flight" "at Scotland's shore, 23 Sept 1779".	Copy AU
Bronze 2702			after							Bonhomme Richard on		\$1000
Silver			departs						Jones	fire		CopyB66\$160
2074	7	Dupre	Jefferson	567	4	1789	1781	Morgan	America	Battle of	No originals in bronze. Copy dies at Paris Mint Barre dies, sell for \$4,000. Obv: America as Indian Princess crowns Gen Morgan with laurel wreath. In background is trophy of arms and flags. "The American Congress to Gen Daniel Morgan". Rev: Morgan leading troops with colors flying putting flight to British army. In foreground, an Indian battles a dismounted cavalry soldier. "Victory, the vindicator of liberty" "the enemy put to flight, taken or slain, at the Cowpens, Jan 17, 1781"	OrigAU\$12k
			late 1789					Cowpens	Morgan	Cowpens		CopyEF\$650
1623	8	Duvivier	Jefferson	595	3	1789	1781	Howard	Col Howard	Inscription in	Gun Metal copy die by US Mint 1839 - 1891 \$500-\$2,000 depending on condition <100 made. Obv: Col Howard on horseback, pursues enemy footsoldier who is abducting a standard. Winged Victory hovers over Howard, holding crown of laurel in left hand and palm branch in right. "The American Congress to John Eager Howard, commander of a regiment of infantry" Rev: "Because of rushing suddenly on the wavering lines of the enemy, he gave a brilliant example of martial courage at the battle of the Cowpens, Jan 17 1781"	CopyAU\$600
		er	early 1789					Cowpens	on	Laurel		
1708 2159	9	Duvivier	Jefferson	594	3	1789	1781	Wm	Wm	Inscription in	Gun Metal copy die by US Mint 1839 - 1891 \$500-\$2,000 depending on condition <100 made. Obv: Col Wm Washington leads his men pursuing enemy cavalry. Winged Victory hovers over him, holding crown of laurel in right hand, and palm branch in left. "The American Congress to William Washington, commander of a regiment of cavalry". Rev: "Because of victoriously pursuing the enemy with handful of soldiers, he gave a noble example of innate courage at battle of Cowpens, Jan 17 1781."	CopyEF\$250
		er	early 1789					Cowpens	horseback	Wreath		
2085	10	Dupre	David	597	2	1787	1781	Green	Bust Gen	Winged	24 original medals made sell for \$20,000 - \$30,000. Copy dies at US Mint 1880 sell for \$2,500. Electros sell for \$50 to \$700. Obv: Bust Gen Greene "the American Congress to Nathaniel Green, a distinguished general". Rev: Winged Victory holds crown of laurel in right hand and palm branch in left, while one foot rests on trophy of arms and flags. "The safety of the southern regions" "The enemy vanquished at Eutaw on 8th Sept, 1781"	OrigEF\$20k
			Humphreys					Eutaw	Green	holds crown		OrigEF\$7.5k
1945	11	Dupre	Franklin	615	1	1782	1776	Libertas Americana	Flowing Hair	Allegory	Bronze about 500 made and about 125 known Pf60 \$12,000, Silver about 24+ known Pf60 \$75,000. Rev Allegory of France protecting infant America from Britain. No edge markings	EF\$7344
2948 Cu	12					1784		Franklin	Liberty	France protects		BU66\$58750
2949 Ag								Genius				
1772	13	Dupre	Franklin	620	1	1784	1786	Franklin	Bust	Inscription in Laurel	Rev: "He snatches the lightning bolt from the heavens and the scepter from tyrants"	MANLY Orig AU\$2kBU\$3250B U65\$5k
						&6		Natus	Franklin	Wreath		
2760 silver	14	Dupre	Jefferson	593	4	1789	1779	Stewart	America	Battle Scene	2 known originals Electros available for \$600+ Obv: American Princess gives palm branch, alligator below. "to John Stewart commander of the company. Rev: Battle scene "Stony Point assaulted" "July 15, 1779"	
2765 bronze			late 1789						gives branch			
2084 bronze	15	Dupre	Jefferson	5	1792	1776		Diplomatic	Great Seal of	Indian Princess	1876 US Mint restrikes sell for \$2,000 - \$3,000, 86 struck. Original gold whereabouts unknown. 3	CopyEF\$2500
2701 gold			after departs					Medal	US	Mercury	original Bronze known Restrikes 1876	

CHAPTER TWO

DE FLEURY AND LIBERTAS AMERICANA MEDALS

Battle of Stony Point

Stony Point, like Cowpens, had three CA medal recipients: Brig. Gen. Wayne, Lt. Col de Fleury, and Maj. Stewart.

The French were long time enemies of Britain. They waited anxiously for a sign that America could win against the British. The Battle of Saratoga in October 1777 became that sign. British General Burgoyne surrendered to America. The next year France joined America in their fight against Britain.

Marquis Francois-Louis Teissedre de Fleury (1749-1799) was born into nobility. Aged 19 he joined the French Royal army as an engineer.

He and several fellow officers applied for a commission in the Continental Army. But America refused them commissions. So instead de Fleury volunteered. It is interesting that several French nobles took part in the American Revolution. Coming from privilege, you would think they would want to keep their privilege. Instead they risked their lives fighting for democratic ideals.

The Continental Army appointed de Fleury Captain in May 1777. He served with distinction including in the New Jersey campaigns as second-in-command in Maj. Henry Lee's Legion. The British shot de Fleury's horse out from under him at the Battle of Brandywine.

Twelve ships of the line and four frigates under French Admiral d'Estaing entered Newport harbor in July 1778. Washington appointed de Fleury liaison with the French Navy there.

Sensing defeat by the French, British Capt. John Brisbane, then Newport's senior British naval officer, ordered their five frigates and 13 transport vessels scuttled. In August Maj. Gen. John Sullivan's Continental Army occupied the area. Then the British fleet arrived. A sudden hurricane scattered and damaged both the British and French fleets. Sullivan withdrew from Aquidneck Island around Newport.

In 1778 American Gen. George Clinton assigned Capt. Machin to construct a great chain across the Hudson River from West Point to Constitution Island. This protected vital upriver Continental Army supplies and crossings which connected New England with the rest of America.

The Army then posted de Fleury to the Hudson River. In June 1779 Americans established two small forts on the Hudson River at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, about 30 miles north of Manhattan. People felt the fort at Stony Point was impregnable. Looming 150 feet above marshes on each side, controlling the Hudson River, they called it "Little Gibraltar".

In 1779 British General Clinton wanted a conventional battle confrontation with Washington. After reinforcements arrived, he travelled north up the Hudson with 8,000 men

hoping to draw Washington out. Clinton knew Stony Point was a vital crossing point. The King's Ferry linked it to Verplanck's Point on the other side. This connected New England trade with the rest of America. But only 40 Americans defended Stony Point. Clinton took it and put a foot regiment, 15 field artillery, and a gunboat and sloop in the river to guard it.

Washington then sent Maj. Henry Lee to reconnoiter. Lee would later receive a medal for Paulus Hook. Using a telescope, Washington saw the British building earthworks. He decided to send Brig. Wayne in July 1779 to take it with four regiments of 350 men, and an artillery detachment.

Only 35 miles upstream from New York City, the fortifications were sometimes still an island even at low tide (see map next page). Washington planned a three-pronged attack at night: a diversionary attack from the West to seize British artillery; one column from the North; and one from the South both wading thorough shallow water at low tide. To prevent alerting the British with gunfire, they armed themselves only with bayonets.

Maj. John Stewart led the northern storming party of 150. Brig. Anthony Wayne picked Lt. Col. Francoise de Fleury to lead the southern 150-man assault on Stony Point. It was only 15 miles south of West Point.

The attack was so secret, even the troops did not know where they were going when they handed in their ammunition. There were four regiments of 300-340 men. Two companies under Maj. Murfree staged a diversionary attack from the West, planning to seize British artillery. One regiment of 300 attacked from the North, and Wayne led two regiments attacking from the South. They gave men rum rations, and a piece of white paper to pin on their hats so they could differentiate between Patriots and British in the darkness.

The southern column had to wade through two to four feet of water for 30 minutes. Clouds muted the moonlight. The assault began at midnight. British sentries saw Murfree's diversion, and also spotted Wayne's forces from the South approaching the abatis (see picture next page). But the Americans were prepared: 250 men came with axes to cut it down.

Patriot infantry moved fast and stealthily. The British could not lower their cannon enough to harass them. A musket ball grazed Wayne's head, rendering him unconscious.

Lt. Col de Fleury, who commanded the main column coming from the South, was the first to climb over the upper works. Maj. Stewart commanding the main column coming from the North soon joined him. Together they took the fort July 15. British casualties were 20-63 against only 15 American casualties. Americans took 546 prisoners, store and all artillery.



Example of abatis during Civil War.

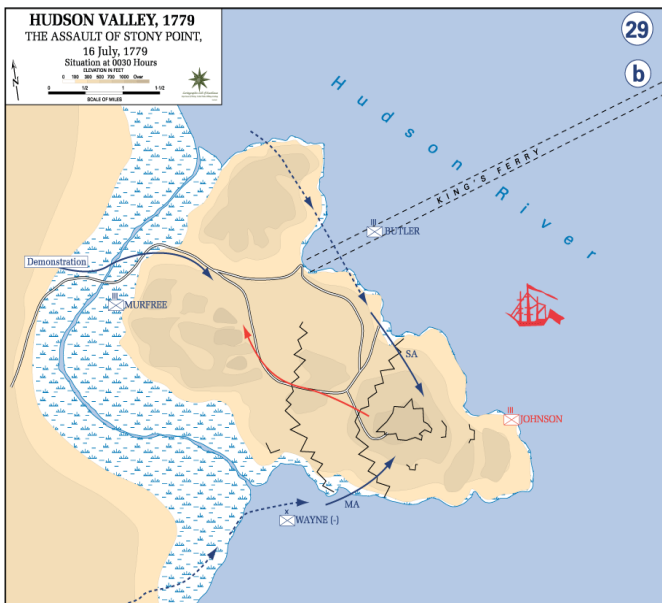
Washington knew what a great morale booster the fort's seizure would be, but it had little strategic significance. And he knew that he would abandon a few days later.

Indeed, just four days later a large British force reoccupied the post, which Patriots had abandoned after removing all prisoners, stores and artillery.

After the American Revolutionary War de Fleury returned to France, where he served in the French army. He saw service in India and the Indian Ocean, then returned to France in 1790. During the French Revolution he received severe wounds. He resigned from the French army in 1792 as Maréchal de Camp (equivalent to Major General). He died seven years later. The US Corps of Engineers named the De Fleury Medal after him. They have awarded this since 1989 to honor people who have provided significant contributions to US Army engineering. The medal is a copy of de Fleury's original medal in steel, bronze and silver. They award one or two gold medals each year.

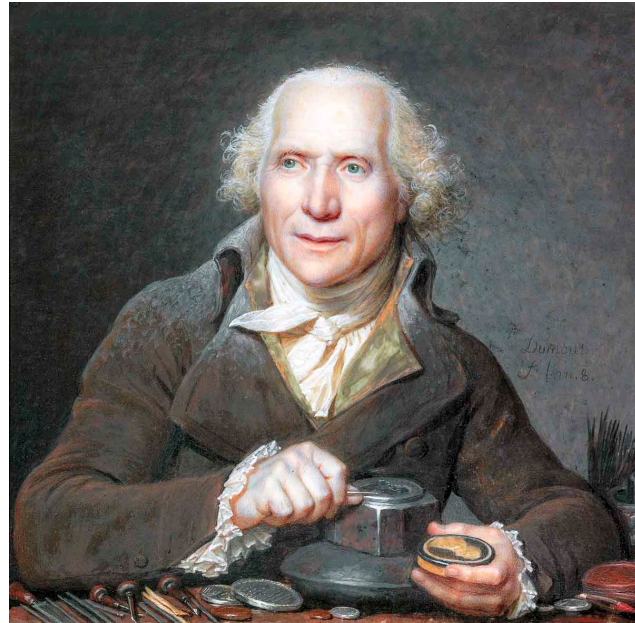
The de Fleury Medal

The obverse of the Comitia Americana medal shows a helmeted soldier (Lt. Colonel de Fleury) in the ruins of a fort. He holds an unsheathed sword in his right hand, and the staff of the enemy's flag in his left, which he tramples. The legend translated from Latin reads, "A memorial and reward of courage and boldness." The inscription in the exergue also says in Latin, "The American Republic presented this gift to Duke de Fleury, a French knight, the first to mount the wall."



The reverse shows a view of the fortress towering above the Hudson River with flag flying. Multiple cannons and batteries sit below, one discharging on six vessels shown on the river. The Latin legend around says, "Fortifications, marches, enemies overcome." In the exergue it says, "Stony Point carried by storm. July 15, 1779."

Adams and Bentley knew of five silver and nine bronze originals from the Paris Mint engraved by Duvivier, first struck in 1780. In 1880 Charles Barber made copy dies, from which the mint struck 47 copies in 1880. This is one of them. The reverse exergue says REPRODUCTION 1880. Charles Barber, who engraved the copies, was Chief engraver of the US Mint from 1879 until his death in 1917.



Pierre Simon Benjamin Duvivier by Francois Dumont

Benjamin Duvivier (1730-1819) was the son of Jean Duvivier, medalist to the King. Benjamin's brother also worked as an engraver and painter, and his sister married the engraver Jacques Nicolas Tardieu. Benjamin's father forbade him to become an engraver, so Benjamin left home to live with Tardieu.

When his father died, Benjamin applied to assume his father's position as medalist to the King. The King acquiesced. In 1774 Duvivier replaced Joseph Charles Roettiers as general engraver of coins at the Paris Mint. Duvivier sculpted George Washington and Marquis de Lafayette. During the French Revolution Duvivier's old assistant Augustin Dupré replaced him. Devastated, bitter and disillusioned, he never worked again.

His Comitia Americana medals are:

1. De Fleury Stony Point 1780
2. Washington before Boston 1789
3. Howard Cowpens 1789
4. William Washington Cowpens 1789

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2083

DE FLEURY STONY POINT 1779. US MINT COPY DIES 1880. 47 STRUCK. 45.5 MM, 47.78 GRAMS UNC

Libertas Americana Medal Reverse

In the first Chapter I detailed how Benjamin Franklin engineered the production of this famous medal. The medal is number one in the *100 Greatest American Medals and Tokens* by Katherine Jaeger and Q. David Bowers. Adams and Bentley called it: “simply put, a masterpiece.”

Rather than creating a monumental pillar for Yorktown, Franklin created a medal. As a diplomat, he knew Louis XVI would appreciate a gold masterpiece in his hands lots more than a marble column in America. Franklin suggested the infant Hercules in a cradle, strangling two serpents sent by Hera, and a personification of France as Athena (Minerva in Rome).

The fresco painter Esprit-Antoine Gibelin (who had a background in classical themes) and the engraver, Augustin Dupré, developed the designs further. Dupré did not finish the engraving until 1782. He lived, like Franklin, in Passy. He and Franklin often walked the three miles into Paris together, Dupré no doubt charmed by his wit and intellect.

Franklin focused on the reverse. The reverse shows France as Athena, carrying a shield with three fleurs-de-lys. She protects the infant Hercules (representing America) on his cradle. Hercules strangles two snakes, as the lioness Britannia pounces on him. The two strangled serpents symbolize the battles of Saratoga and Yorktown. In the exergue are the twin dates 17 October 1777 and 19 October 1781. The first date was the defeat of Burgoyne at the Battle of Saratoga. The second was the defeat of Cornwallis at the Battle of Yorktown. Importantly, the lioness has her tail between her legs, styled “coward” by heraldic experts. It shows her power is foiled by Minerva (France). Athena was Goddess of War in ancient Greece, and Goddess of Prudence in Rome.

Zeus, the god of the sky and thunder, ruled as king of the gods on Mount Olympus. To say Zeus’ life was busy was an understatement: he fathered fifteen children! The infant Hercules, son of Zeus and Alcmene, made one of Zeus’s wives, Hera, so jealous that she sent two enormous serpents to kill him. The infant Hercules strangled both of them.

The legend around NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INFANS is Latin for “the bold infant is not without divine aid.” Above the reverse exergual line is DUPRE.F. for Dupré Fecit, Latin for Dupré made it.

The Libertas Americana reverse flatters France, just as Franklin, the ever consummate ambassador, intended. He still needed French loans for America!

Although Franklin said he presented two gold examples to King Louis XVI and his wife in 1783, these are unknown today.

The Paris Mint struck originals in March, April and June 1783 and possibly at a later date in 1783. None of them have edge markings. In 1789 Jefferson bought a silver specimen from the Paris Mint, perhaps to give Washington.

You can see the 7 o’clock die break in the rim which is original. You can also see die rust behind Liberty’s hair. Most of the time the Mint would grind and polish the dies

to remove rust marks. Many silver specimens lack the die cud at the rim at 7 o’clock. This suggests the first 20 silver strikings in early March 1783 preceded the bronze, which by then showed the die cud.

Adams and Bentley calculate numbers from Franklin’s payments:

	Payment	Gold	Silver	Bronze
March 4, 1783	1,046 livres	2	20	20
March 30, 1783	581 livres	-	20	100
July 2, 1783	450 livres	-	215	280
Total	3,704 livres	2	55	200

Franklin paid 3,704 livres (\$617 or £154) of his own money. He also ordered 300 copies of a four-page pamphlet, “Explanation of the medal”. As he always had a printing press with him and loved to print documents, it is surprising that he did not print the document himself. But he wanted something better. It included beautifully engraved pictures of the medal. Franklin also paid the Paris Mint another 51 livres some time later, perhaps for a few more Libertas medals.

This is Franklin’s own explanation, mostly focusing on the reverse. Translated into English, the French document reads:

The Head representing American Liberty has its tresses floating in the air; to shew that she is in activity. The Cap carried on a Spear is her Ensign. The Date below of 4 July 1776 was the day the United States declared Independence.

On the reverse, the United States are represented by an infant Hercules, cradled in a shield which in Theocritus served as a cradle, strangling two serpents in his hands, an emblem of the two English armies made prisoners at Saratoga and at York-Town. A leopard representing England throws himself at the same time on the infant. A Minerva armed with a shield with the arms of France comes to his rescue, and characterizes the generous protection that the King has given to America.

The legend is a verse from Horace, of which the sense is: “It is not without help from the Gods that the infant shows this courage.”

The two dates of 17 October 1777 and of 19 of the same month 1781 indicate the two surrenders of Burgoyne and of Cornwallis.

This medal is destined to be a lasting monument of events shown on the design, as well as of the recognition of the United States towards their grand and generous Benefactor.

Philippe Denis Pierres delivered 300 copies of the “Explanation” (“Explication de la Médaille” in French) to Franklin on May 5, 1783. There can be no doubt reading this in French that Franklin was oiling diplomatic wheels. Robert Livingston, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Confederation Congress, had written to Franklin in December 1781 suggesting a commemorative pillar in Yorktown. But cognizant of further support needed from France, Franklin’s titled his explanation, “Explanation of the medal struck by the Americans”. Of course the Americans did not strike it. He did! But he wanted to make France think America was officially grateful for its efforts. He knew Congress might not vote on the money or the project. So he paid for it himself. Notice that his explanation of Liberty was very sparse.



1945

BRONZE LIBERTAS AMERICANA 1781. PLAIN EDGE. BETTS 615; 47.8MM, 49.7 GRAMS MS 63



Ink and ink wash drawing September 1782 by Gibelin

In November 1783 Boudinot, Confederation Congress President, distributed 80 medals to Members of Congress, Ministers, and the Governors of each state. Franklin distributed more in Europe. The American Congress never officially sanctioned the medal. The greatest Comitia Americana medal is not Comitia Americana!

Adams and Bentley listed 22 surviving in silver and 37 in bronze. Figuring another 50% of medals in hiding, they projected a total of 33 silver and 56 bronze, giving a 60% survival for silver and 28% for bronze (from the original 55 silver and 200 bronze calculated on page 18). The Red Book says there are 100-125 in bronze and 24+ in silver.

In 1968 John Ford Jr. found the Libertas dies in the Paris Musée de Monnaies (Paris Mint). They were heavily rusted. First Coinvestors funded transfer dies, resulting in 77 mm rather than 47 mm medals for the 1776 bicentennial. The edges read "COPY OF DESIGN BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. ORIGINAL STRUCK IN 1783."

The Paris Mint issued copy die proof strikes on 24 gram silver planchets in 2004. In 2014 they issued copy die strikes on five ounces of gold, one ounce of gold and five ounces of silver. In 2015 they issued copy die strikes on one ounce of silver and one kilogram of silver. The silver for both years was 99.9%. In 2020 they issued copy die strikes on one ounce of 95% silver.



Paris Mint Blast Proof Libertas American 2006, #1322

Libertas Americana Medal Obverse

The obverse shows the allegory of liberty with her attribute, the pileus, on a pole. The pileus was the cap given by Romans when they manumitted their slaves. The legend reads, LIBERTAS AMERICANA (American freedom). In the exergue is, 4. JUIL. 1776, the date of the Declaration of Independence. Liberty's hair flows behind her as if blown by the wind. This iconography inspired US Mint engravers to imitate her on their coins (below).



Liberty cap head left half cent 1793. #608

Although Franklin obsessed about the reverse iconography, the obverse would become more influential. As the Clain-Stefanellis said: little did Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette know, as they admired Franklin's gift of gold Libertas Americanas, "The gracious and inspired figure at which they were looking (Liberty) would become their Nemesis." Ten years later they both lost their heads.

A pileus is the cap seen on the obverse of the medal. In Ancient Rome during the manumission ceremony a magistrate touched slaves with a rod called a vindicta, pronouncing them free. Before manumission they shaved the slave's head and placed an undyed felt pileus on it. The vindicta and pileus were symbols of Libertas, the Roman goddess of liberty, shown below. The reverse here shows the Goddess Libertas holding a pileus and vindicta:



Trebonianus Gallus 251-253 CE antoninianus.

From Phrygia, Dacia and the Balkans, the conical Phrygian cap curved forwards at the top. During the French Revolution this became the preferred symbol of the republican government's liberty, seen on this Dupré five centime piece (top right). Marianne, the personification of France, sometimes wears a Phrygian cap.

The Libertas Americana obverse inspired the flowing hair, liberty head, liberty cap, and seated liberty US coinage. If you look closely, the American liberty cap is a Phrygian cap folded over in the front. Even the long-lasting seated liberty coinage sported a pole and liberty cap. The renaissance of American coinage in the early 1900s gradually replaced the liberty device. Liberty's last gasp was the walking liberty half dollar, last minted in 1947.



1795 (Year 4) 5-centime piece by Dupré #2326

Augustin Dupré

Augustin Dupré (1748-1833) started engraving at the French Royal Factory for weapons. Aged 22 he studied with Jacques Louis David, the pre-eminent neoclassical painter of the era. Dupré then started engraving his own medals.

Post-revolutionary France demanded new money designs. David started a competition for them in 1791. Dupré won the competition. The government then replaced Duvivier with Dupré as General engraver of coins (equivalent to Chief Engraver of the Mint).

Embittered, Duvivier never worked again.



Portrait of Dupré for a medal by David courtesy Paris Mint

Dupré's neoclassical engraving of the new French Republic's coins would alone have made him famous. But his medallion work further cemented this. Napoleon's First Empire dismissed him in 1803, but he continued working until his death in 1833.

Dupré engraved seven Comitia Americana medals:

1. Libertas Americana 1783
2. Franklin Genius 1784
3. Franklin Natus Boston 1786
4. Greene Eutaw 1787 medal spells Greene without an "e"
5. Morgan Cowpens 1789
6. Jones Serapis 1789
7. Diplomatic medal 1792

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CHAPTER THREE

1784 & 1786 FRANKLIN MEDALS

1784 Franklin Medal

Franklin stayed in France a long time: from 1776 to 1785. Adams and Bentley said Congress should have awarded a medal to Franklin. Instead, others did!

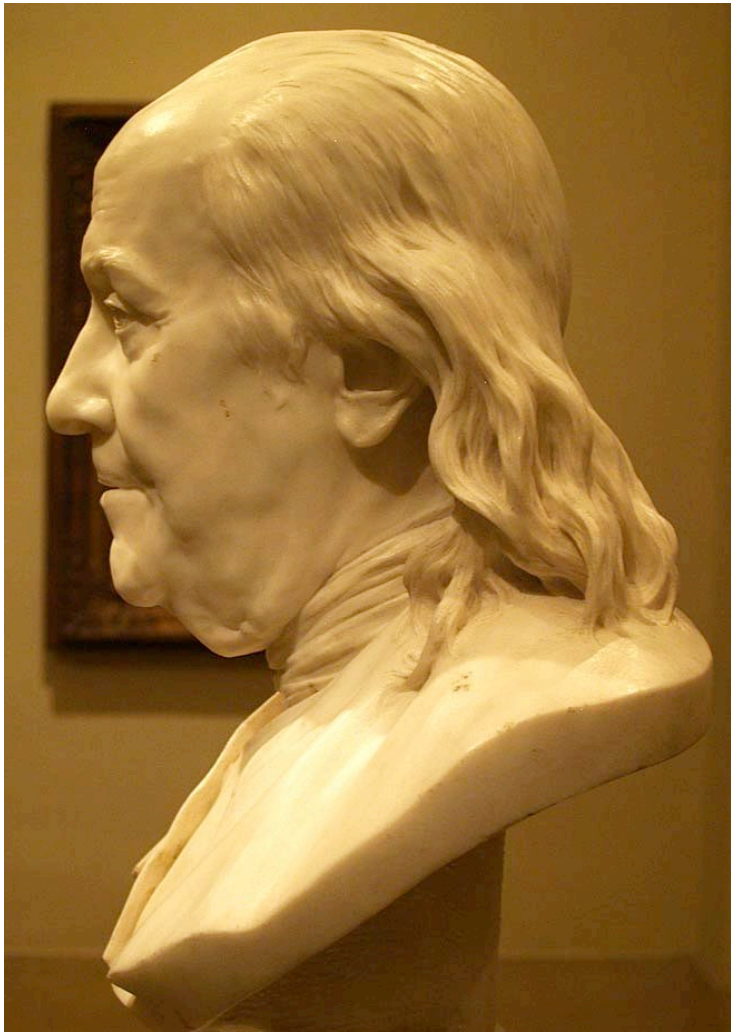
I have already discussed Jean-Baptiste Nini's 1777 medal as a more collectible substitute for the rare 1777 English medal. The English medal shows a turbaned Franklin on the obverse with the legend B. Franklin of Philadelphia, LLD & FRS. The reverse shows a tree struck by lightning on the reverse with the legend, "He does not care about the futile lightening". Stacks' archives show two in silver and nine in bronze sold since 2005. More than half are "beat up"! Heritage Auctions list none.

Congress did not vote for a Franklin medal, so technically they are not Comitia Americana. Neither did they vote for the Libertas Americana! Adams and Bentley accurately call the collecting area "Comitia Americana and Related Medals".

The 1784 Franklin medal, Betts-619, shows a bust left of Franklin, with DUPRE. F. on the truncation. The legend reads BENJ. FRANKLIN NATUS BOSTON XVII JAN MDCCVI (Benjamin Franklin born Boston January 17, 1706.) The bust looks like it came from Houdon's 1778 bust of Franklin shown above right.

Dupré used the same obverse for the 1786 medal, which usually comes with a snail track outlining the head, caused by die rust, which can easily occur in weeks. My bronze specimen of 1845-1860 has the snail tracks. But the silver blast proof specimen has no snail tracks. Had the fields been ground down, the shallow lettering may have disappeared. Perhaps they used transfer dies which they could sandblast before striking this, or perhaps they redid the lettering.

The reverse shows a standing winged genius. His raised right arm gestures to lightening over a circular temple on a hill protected by Franklin's lightening rod. His left arm points to a broken crown and scepter on the ground. The reverse legend reads ERIPUIT COELO FUMEN SCEPTUMQUE TYRANNIS (he snatched the thunderbolt from heaven and the scepter from tyrants). Betts said Turgot first authored this epigram to apply to Franklin. Who was Turgot?



Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727-1781) had a confusing name. Was he a man or a woman? He was a French economist and statesman. He espoused the physiocratic theorists, who said the wealth of nations came from products of the land, which should therefore be highly priced. Adam Smith's 1776 *Wealth of Nations*, overtook the physiocrats. It stressed enlightened self-interest, limited government, free trade and a solid currency.

Nicknamed abbé because he trained for the church, Turgot decided against it as he could not bear to wear a mask all his life! A man of immense learning, Turgot translated the fourth book of the Aeneid from Ancient Greek into French hexameter. Louis XVI appointed him minister of the navy in 1774. He opposed financial support for the American Revolution.

Scholars think Turgot took the line on the medal's reverse from the *Astronomica*, a Latin poem in five books by the Roman poet Marcus Manilius. Can you imagine reading a five-book-long poem in Latin! It has the line "Eripuit Jovi fulmen, viresque tonandi," translated as "He snatched the bolt from heaven's avenging hand, Disarmed and drove the tyrant from the land."

In Roman religion the genius was the divine nature present in every person or thing, a bit like our modern concept of the soul. So, the reverse is not saying Franklin was a genius, it is saying this is his persona — an amazing inventor. Dupré executed many sketches with



2949

SILVER 1784 FRANKLIN WINGED GENIUS MEDAL. SANDBLAST PROOF RESTRIKE (1880-1897). GM-35; 46MM NGC MS 63

many fresh ideas for the reverse before settling on this medal. In the reverse exergue is SCULPSIT ET DICAUIT AUG DUPRE ANNO MDCCLXXXIV (engraved and dedicated Augustin Dupré in the year 1784).

Having befriended Franklin during their walks into Paris together, and having worked on the Libertas Americana commission, Dupré engraved his own medal of Franklin to sell in Paris. Franklin at the time was probably the most talked about person in France! He was a film star before there were film stars!

Adams and Bentley say there are 2-3 originals in silver and 4-8 originals in bronze. I show Paris restrikes, not originals.

1786 Franklin Medal

Within two years, and a year after Franklin left, Dupré produced another medal. Business must have been booming! He saved time by using the same obverse die. For the reverse he wrote a central inscription surrounded by two oak branches joined at their bases by a ribbon (see overleaf).

Again Dupré inscribed below the joined oak branches "Engraved and dedicated Augustin Dupré in the year 1786". Perhaps the medal was Dupré's fond remembrance of Franklin.

This medal is more common than the Franklin genius medal, Adams and Bentley estimate 76-200 known.

How do you know whether the medals are original strikes of 1786 or restrikes?

Edge markings on Paris Mint medals tell the striking date (taken from E-Sylum from David Alexander, Breen, and Richard Hartzog):

These minute marks appear on the edge of the medals, generally at 6:00, along with metal designation **OR**, Gold; **ARGENT**, Silver, sometimes with added 1, 2 or 3; **CUIVRE**, Copper; **BRONZE**; or **ZINC**.

The following marks provide at least an approximation of the date of striking through 1966.

No symbol pre 1798

Rooster on edge, 1798-1821

Anchor without C interlaced, 1822-1842

Antique Lamp (Lampe Antique), March 30, 1832, to October 22, 1841, Gold and Silver strikes. Any gold or silver medal issued before 1832 with any mark is a restrike.

Anchor and C interlaced (Ancre et C), October 22, 1841, to Sept. 25, 1842. Bronze, Silver, Gold.

Ancient Prow (Prou Antique), Sept. 26, 1842 to June 12, 1845.

Pointing Hand (Main Indicatrice), June 23, 1845, to October 31, 1860.

Bee (Abeille), Nov. 1, 1860 to Dec. 31, 1879.

Cornucopia (Corne d'Abondance), Jan. 1, 1880 to 1898, and in 1901.

No symbol on edge 1897-1920

Matte finish plus Cornucopia, 1921-present (Breen). Musante says the matt finish started ca. 1910.

Cornucopia plus date of actual striking, 1966-present.

At one time numbers 1, 2, or 3 joined Argent to distinguish fineness in the economically disturbed decades after World War I:

Argent1 = Premier titre, believed 0.925 (sterling).

Argent2 = 0.900.

Argent3 = 0.835. This was the post-1867 statutory fineness for French minor coins of 2 Francs to 20 Centimes and cognate coins of the Latin Monetary Union nations.

The silver 1784 restrike shown on the previous page is a sandblast proof of 1880-1897. The bronze 1784 Franklin medal shown opposite is an 1845 to 1860 restrike. The 1786 medal overleaf is a Paris original strike.

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2948

BRONZE 1784 FRANKLIN WINGED GENIUS MEDAL 1845-1860 PARIS RESTRIKE. GM-35; BETTS-619; 46MM NGC MS 63



1772

1786 HOLED BRONZE FRANKLIN NATUS BOSTON MEDAL. BETTS-620; 45.8MM, 44.91 GRAMS AU

CHAPTER FOUR

DAVID HUMPHREYS: THE GATES AND GREENE MEDALS



Lt. Col David Humphreys (1752-1818) by Gilbert Stuart.

Lt. Col. David Humphreys

Most have heard of Franklin and Jefferson. Few have heard of Humphreys. He was Washington's aide-de-camp, and later American Minister to Portugal and Spain.

The son of a minister, he was born in Derby, Connecticut. As a child he took to books. His father sent him to his alma mater, Yale, aged 15. He graduated aged 19, and became a school principal for two years in Wethersfield. He then tutored a Royalist's child, which aroused his own Patriot leanings. Humphreys then enlisted in the Continental Army in 1776.

As a British immigrant, I find historians of the American Revolution label people with confusing or unnecessarily complicated names. Loyalist and Patriot, for example: loyal or patriotic to which side? At least Royalist tells you the person supports the crown. Some use the term Whig and Tory. Tories supported the British Crown. Whigs were also called American Whigs — were those different from other Whigs? They both supported the revolution. How many people can remember all that? Revolutionaries, Continentals and Rebels all supported the revolution. Wouldn't it be nice if historians used two words (Royalists and Rebels come to mind) rather than eight or more?

To continue with our story, Humphreys took part in Col. Meig's raid of Sag Harbor, New York, in May 1777. They captured 90 prisoners, destroyed 12 British ships and stores, and returned to Connecticut without losing a single man. This was the first Rebel victory in New York after the British took New York in 1776.

Humphreys reported the success directly to General Washington in New Jersey, where he met him for the first time. He later served on the staffs of Generals Israel Putnam and Nathanael Greene. In June 1780 Washington appointed him aide-de-camp to his own staff. After the Battle of Yorktown in 1781, Washington entrusted Humphreys with delivering the British colors and battle reports to Congress. He also recommended Congress appoint Humphreys Secretary of Foreign Affairs. But instead Congress appointed John Jay.

Together with John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, Humphreys helped negotiate commercial treaties with Europe. In 1784 he became Franklin's secretary and intelligence agent in France. When Humphreys was in Paris in late 1784, Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, asked him to get the remaining Comitia Americana medals completed.

In 1786 Connecticut elected Humphreys to their General Assembly. The next year Washington asked him to live in Mount Vernon as his private secretary and speechwriter.



John Trumbull's General George Washington Resigning His Commission. Humphreys stands behind him is similar dress.

Washington appointed Humphreys Foreign Minister to Portugal in 1791 and to Spain in 1796. In Spain he married an English woman, Anne Bulkeley. They moved to Boston, but kept a factory producing scythes and iron tools in Seymour, Connecticut, and an experimental farm. He also started an evening military school for boys. After importing a herd of merino sheep from Spain, he set up the first successful American woolen mill.

A man of letters, he published books of poetry and a biography of Israel Putnam. The English elected him Fellow of the Royal Society, presumably for his farm and wool related scientific achievements. The Royal Society elected only 20-30 scientists a year, including foreigners. So he was no slouch as a scientist either!

When Morris asked Humphreys to get the remaining ten medals, only one had been made (the de Fleury). Humphreys arrived in Paris in September 1784 and asked the Académie to help. By May 1785 they had designed the inscriptions of the Washington before Boston, Gates, and Greene medals.

You would think the Académie would refer to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. But the Académie refers to the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, which concerned monuments and medals. There were five Académies in the Institut de France:

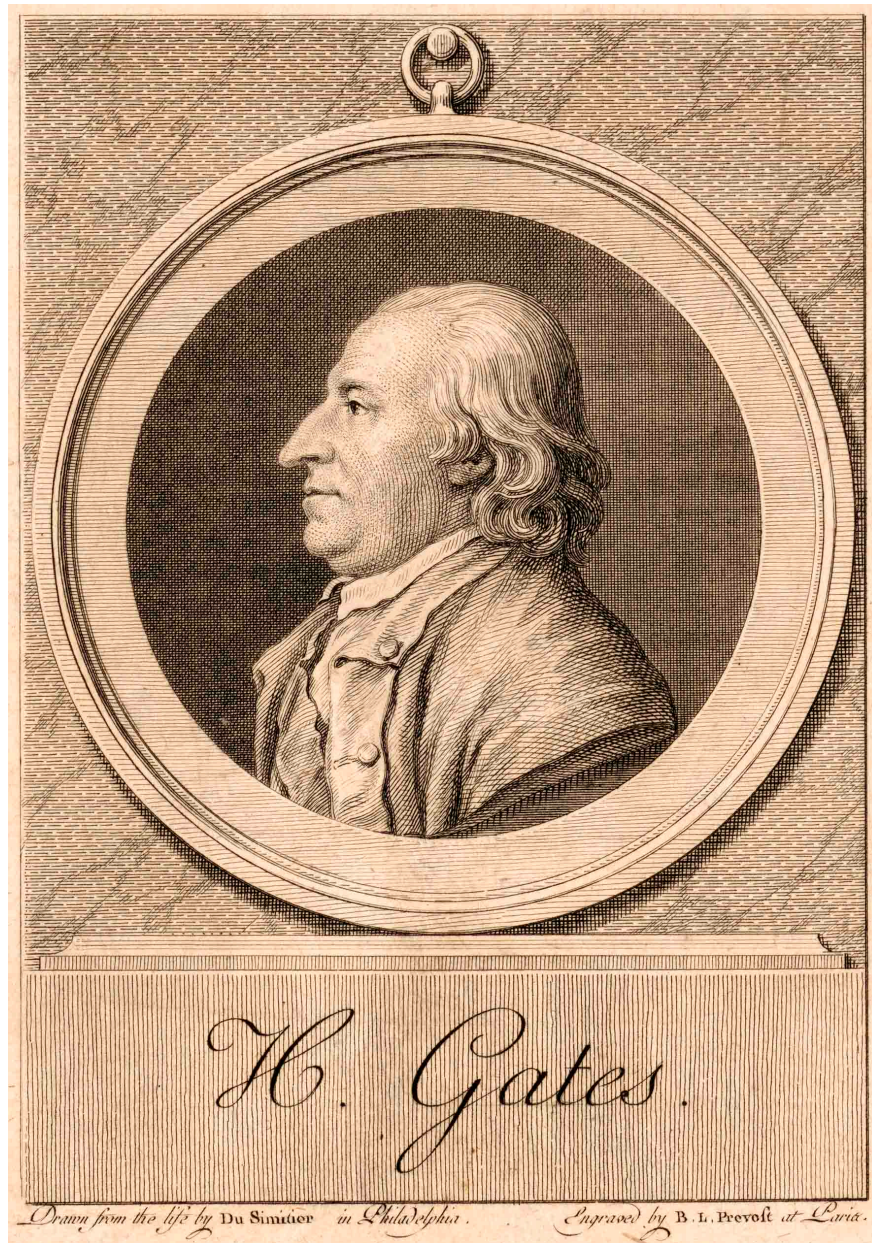
- Académie Française — French language
- Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres as above
- Académie des sciences — science
- Académie des beaux-arts — fine arts
- Académie des sciences morales et politiques — moral and political science.

The Washington Before Boston Medal

In an undated contract with Humphreys, Dupré agreed to engrave the Washington before Boston medal for 6,000 livres, and the Greene medal for 2,000 livres. Humphreys also negotiated with Gatteaux, medalist to the king, to engrave the Gates medal.

But there was a problem. No one in France knew what Washington looked like. Humphreys left France for the US in November 1785. French sculptor Houdon completed his famous bust of Washington and arrived back in France in January 1786. Now, for the first time, Europeans saw what Washington looked like. Houdon pushed for Duvivier to engrave the Washington medal for 2,400 livres. Dupré ended up getting the contract for Greene medal, but not for the Washington medal.

In May 1786 Thomas Jefferson took over responsibility for the remaining medals from Humphreys. But he did not complete the contract for the Washington medal with Duvivier until three years later! Humphreys arranged three medals: Washington before Boston, Gates, and Greene. But the Washington before Boston medal got shelved.



Gates portrait by Du Simitiere



Society of Cincinnati Medal

Gates Medal Production

Humphreys supplied Gatteaux with a portrait of Gates. There was hiccup though. The portrait showed Gates wearing the Society of Cincinnati medal. This society started in 1783, creating members from revolutionary officers only. Membership passed down by primogenital (first-born male) inheritance. Such privilege was antithetic to nascent United States ideology. Gatteaux shrewdly wrote to Jefferson in December 1785 to clarify whether he should portray Gates wearing the medal! He replied (with Humphrey's agreement): he should not wear his Cincinnati medal for the Gates medal portrait!

The 1781 Du Simitiere portrait (above) is from the Library of Congress, but does not include his Society of Cincinnati medal

(shown left). I could not find a 1783-1785 portrait of Gates wearing the medal.

William Short (1759-1849) was private secretary to Thomas Jefferson. In May 1787 Short wrote from Paris that he sent the Gates and Greene medals with Michel Guillaume Jean de Crevecoeur, sailing to the US.

Crevecoeur was an ex-French army officer, who settled in New York, taking out English citizenship in the 1760s. He changed his name to the English, John. He married an American, prospered as a farmer, and in 1782 wrote *Letters from An American Farmer*. Translated into several languages, it scored great success in France and England. France then appointed him as consul in New York in 1783. St. Johnsbury, Vermont, takes its name from John Crevecoeur.

Crevecoeur arrived back in New York in June 1787. There, he presented the Gates and Greene medals to John Jay (then Foreign Affairs Secretary in the Confederation Congress). Jay gave them to Arthur St. Clair, President of the Congress. In August 1787 St. Clair mailed the gold medal with a letter to Gates at his home in Virginia.

Clain-Stefanelli said Gates received the dies and the medal in 1787. The Gates family requested more medals. Aaron Burr brought their Paris Mint dies to the US Mint sometime after March 4, 1801, when Adam Eckfeldt struck some pewter medals and possibly some silver medals.

Adams' and Bentley's census of French struck Gates medals are:

Gold — 1
Silver — 3
Pewter — 7
Bronze — 31

The US Mint periodically restruck Gates medals for collectors from their Paris Mint dies. According to Julian (see references), by 1879 the dies became too worn. Mint Director Pollock ordered William Barber to prepare new dies. By 1885 the mint was still using the old dies and had not yet made fresh ones. They never made copy dies.



Gilbert Stuart's painting of Maj. Gen Horatio Gates 1793-1794 in Metropolitan Museum of Art

Gilbert Stuart painted Horatio Gates wearing his gold medal, ostentatiously swung toward the viewer (see left). Obliging him with artistic license, Stuart enlarged it to look like a 73 mm medal rather than the 56 mm that it actually measured! Don't deny an old man his vanity!

The Battle of Saratoga

In August 1777 Burgoyne was running short on supplies and heard of a Continental supply depot at Bennington. So, he sent Lt. Col. Baum with 800 men to raid it. Burgoyne incorrectly thought only 400 men defended Bennington. But a rebel force of 2,000 New Hampshire militia under Gen. Stark and 350 Green Mountain boys under Col. Warner were expecting the British. Rain delayed British Lt. Col. Baum, and Stark encircled him, taking many prisoners and killing Baum. A further 550 Hessians under British Lt. Col. Breymann arrived too late. Burgoyne got no supplies, and his Indian support melted away.

He had started with 8,000 men and ended with 6,200.

The British northern plan was for Burgoyne to meet Howe in the Hudson River Valley, forming a giant pincer movement to cut off New England from the rest of the American colonies. Howe, however, did not follow the plan (I used to use the euphemism, "Does not play well with others!")

Fought eighteen days apart in the fall of 1777, the two Battles of Saratoga were a turning point in the American Revolution. *Saratoga* is shorthand for two battles that gave the death blow to the 1777 British northern plan during the American Revolutionary War. After capturing Fort Ticonderoga with almost laughable ease, an overconfident General John Burgoyne leading the British army, crawled south as slow as a tortoise. This gave the rattled Americans time to regroup under Horatio Gates.

To support Gates, General George Washington sent Benedict Arnold, his best infantry commander; Colonel Daniel Morgan and his crack regiment of Virginia riflemen; and two brigades of Continentals from the Hudson Highlands. They raised Gates's strength to about 6,500 men.

Equally important was Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko (overleaf), the Polish engineer who built excellent field fortifications on Bemis Heights overlooking the Hudson River.



On September 19, Burgoyne attacked. The fiery Benedict Arnold prodded Gates out of his defensive mentality. He led Morgan's men and Henry Dearborn's light infantry into the woods to block a British flanking column. For most of the afternoon, a furious struggle raged around and across a clearing called Freeman's Farm. Arnold poured in fresh regiments until the jittery Gates broke off the action, leaving the battered British holding their ground.



Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold Engraved by H. B. Hall after John Trumbull

After fortifying his camp and waiting in vain for reinforcements from New York, Burgoyne attempted another assault on October 7 at Bemis Heights. British General Howe was supposed to meet up with Burgoyne as part of the British northern plan, to cut off New England from the rest of the colonies. Instead, Howe occupied Philadelphia, then made his way back to New York City, abandoning Burgoyne. Historians debate to what extent Burgoyne developed these plans then scuttled them.

In this second battle, Benedict Arnold ignored Gates' jealous orders to stay in his quarters, and instead joined the fighting. Arnold led an attack that captured key strong points, forcing the British to retreat to Saratoga (today called Schuylerville). There, surrounded by a belated out-

pouring of militia, Burgoyne surrendered ten days later. British fire at the battle injured Arnold's leg, leaving him unable to fight for several years. Arnold continued to borrow heavily and maintained a lavish lifestyle.



Maj. Gen. John Burgoyne by Joshua Reynolds.

The American victory catalyzed French recognition of the colonist's cause and they entered the war as their ally.

Though Gates was the commanding general, Arnold should have won a medal. Failing to reward him sufficiently may have contributed to him later defecting to the British side. But, to be fair, even a medal would likely have arrived ten years too late!

Gates Medal Details

The obverse shows the bust of Horatio Gates facing left. The exergue starts COMITIA AMERICANA. The legend continues around reading, HORATIO GATES DUCI STRENUO (American Congress to Horatio Gates, a valiant Commander). N. GATTEAUX, the engraver, put his name above the exergual line on the right.

The reverse shows British General Burgoyne surrendering his sword at Saratoga to General Horatio Gates. British troops on the left are laying down their arms. American troops on the right stand with arms and their flag. Near the two Generals are several cannonballs, a cannon, an olive branch, and a drum draped with a flag. These are the arms and colors Burgoyne is surrendering.

The legend around reads SALUS REGIONUM SEPTENTRIONAL. This continues in the exergue HOSTE AD SARATOGAM | IN DEDITION. ACCEP-TO | DIE XVII. OCT. MDCCLXXVII (The safety of the Northern Regions secured by the surrender of the enemy accepted at Saratoga, Oct. 17, 1777). Just in case you missed it, Gatteaux signs again below the reverse exergual line to the left: GATTEAUX F. for Gatteaux Fecit (Gatteaux made this).



1816

1777 HORATIO GATES SARATOGA BRONZE. US RESTRIKE AFTER 1801. BETTS-557 55.7MM, 76.65 GRAMS MS 65

The Paris Mint first struck the Gates medal in 1787, ten years after the battle. After 1801 the dies were transferred to the Philadelphia Mint who then struck the medal. They copper bronzed it, creating a beautiful chestnut finish, much admired today. How did they do it? Very well! The real answer is, we don't know!

Nicolas Marie Gatteaux (1751-1832) engraved the original dies in Paris. Louis XVI appointed Gatteaux Medalist to the King in 1781. Gatteaux also engraved the Wayne and Stewart Stony Point medals. He invented the pointing machine, a device for precisely copying sculptures. His son, Jacques Edouard Gatteaux, became an equally famous medalist and sculptor.

Medals struck in Paris were brown and had no bronzing. They also showed Gates' right coat lapel fully folded over. American strikes after 1801 showed the lapel slightly cut off so the inverted U is not fully seen (see previous page). In addition, the US Mint applied beautiful bronzing to their medals, making them much prettier.

The US Mint did not make gunmetal dies of this medal. Julian says when large-scale striking of Mint medals started in 1861, the Paris dies were still in good condition. The US Mint die register lists copy dies in 1880. Charles Barber wrote a letter in 1885 saying the US Mint were still using the old dies. Adams, Kraljevich and Lopez say in their March MCA article (see references) no one has ever recorded examples of this 1880 die striking.

The medal became the seed for Trumbull's famous painting *The Surrender of General Burgoyne*, (below) commissioned in 1817 and placed in the Capitol Rotunda in 1826.



Surrender of General Burgoyne by John Trumbull.



Surrender of General Burgoyne from back of \$500 National Bank Note, by Frederick Girsch. Courtesy of Heritage Auctions,HA.com.

The medal on the previous page shows a reverse rim cud by the left side of the exergual line, and one starting at the right side of the exergual line. This, with the 2.30 reverse die crack extending to the American flag speaks to a later strike from the original Paris dies.

On the edge at 4 o'clock someone has painted the number 1605, perhaps an accession number for an old collection. John Kraljevich lists the number 3502 also painted onto the side of John Adams' silver Gates medal, sold in November 2019. Aaron Burr brought the dies to the US Mint in 1801, so Julian lists them in his book *Medals of the United States Mint The First Century 1791-1892*.

Battle of Eutaw Springs

Nathanael Greene (1742-1786) came from a wealthy Quaker family in Warwick, Rhode Island. He started limping as a child, perhaps from polio, perhaps from childhood hip problems. He assembled a library on military history, which fascinated him.

His family owned a ship which a British official, Lt. William Duddington, seized. Duddington had a reputation for being overzealous. Greene sued. Many believed Duddington picked on members of the Sons of Liberty. In June 1772 a vessel off Newport baited Duddington in his vessel, HMS Gaspee, leading him aground. A Newport mob wounded Duddington, captured his crew, and torched the Gaspee. They called this the Gaspee Affair. After the British seized his ship, Greene parted ways with them. He also drifted from Quakerism.

In 1775 Washington gave Greene command of a brigade of seven Rhode Island regiments. Greene befriended Gen. Henry Knox and corresponded with John Adams.

England's northern plan, which Burgoyne submitted to his government, sought to cut off New England from the rest of America. In this plan, Burgoyne would come from Canada down Lake Champlain into the Hudson River Valley. Maj. Gen. Howe would travel up the Chesapeake Bay to seize Philadelphia, then travel north to meet up with Burgoyne. There the two armies would control the Hudson River Valley.

Howe, however, never fulfilled his side of the bargain, ruining England's northern strategy. England's southern strategy assumed the southern colonies were much more loyal to Britain. Though planned in 1775, the British did not start the southern strategy until 1778. British Gen. Clinton in New York gave Cornwallis 3,000 men to execute the southern plan, feeling he could recruit loyal British subjects in the South.

The English captured Savannah in December 1778. Thousands of colonists defected to Britain's side. But the plan only started in earnest in 1780. In May 1780 Cornwallis defeated American General Benjamin Lincoln in Charleston, South Carolina. Americans surrendered over 5,000 troops and supplies — the worst defeat of the war for the Americans.

Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, a British cavalry officer, allowed his cavalymen to kill most of an American force in the May 1780 Battle of Waxhaws, North Carolina. This

incited huge Patriot resentment. The British killed 113 of Col. Buford's 420 men, and injured another 150 so badly they could not be moved. And this was all after the Americans raised the white flag. The Waxhaw massacre became great publicity for the American cause.

Washington appointed Maj. Gen Nathanael Greene in charge of the Southern Department in 1780. Greene pursued a Fabian strategy, i.e., avoiding frontal assaults and wearing down the enemy by attrition.

In August 1780 Cornwallis defeated Gates' army, killing 900 and capturing 1,000 at the Battle of Camden in South Carolina.

But the next month the tide turned. Greene's troops captured, killed or wounded all 1,100 British combatants at the Battle of King's Mountain. Again, Brig. Morgan defeated the British at Cowpens in January 1781, capturing, killing or wounding almost all 1,150 British combatants. The wily Greene then let Cornwallis chase him through southern back country, constantly keeping one step ahead, all the while eroding Cornwallis's army.

In February 1781 Cornwallis won a pyrrhic victory against the Americans at Guilford Court House, Greensboro, North Carolina. Green's army of 4,500 suffered 311 dead or wounded (7%). Cornwallis' army of 2,100 suffered 501 dead or wounded (20%).

During 1781 Greene continued his game of cat and mouse with the British in South Carolina. In August British Col. Stewart fell back to Eutaw Springs on the Santee River, with 2,000 men.

Maj. Gen. Greene had Lt. Col. Henry Lee's cavalry. Troops included the commanders, Lt. Col. William Washington, and Lt. Col. John Eager Howard (both Comitia

Americana medal recipients). Greene's army numbered 2,400 infantry and 300 cavalry.

Before the battle started, Greene's forces captured 400 of British Col. Stewart's foragers. On Sept 8, 1781, Greene's forces attacked British positions with artillery, cavalry and hand to hand combat. The British retreated to a brick house (see map below). The Americans then withdrew, nursing their wounds.

British casualties were 85 killed, 297 wounded, and 500 prisoners. American casualties were 119 killed, 382 wounded, 76 missing and 60 prisoners.

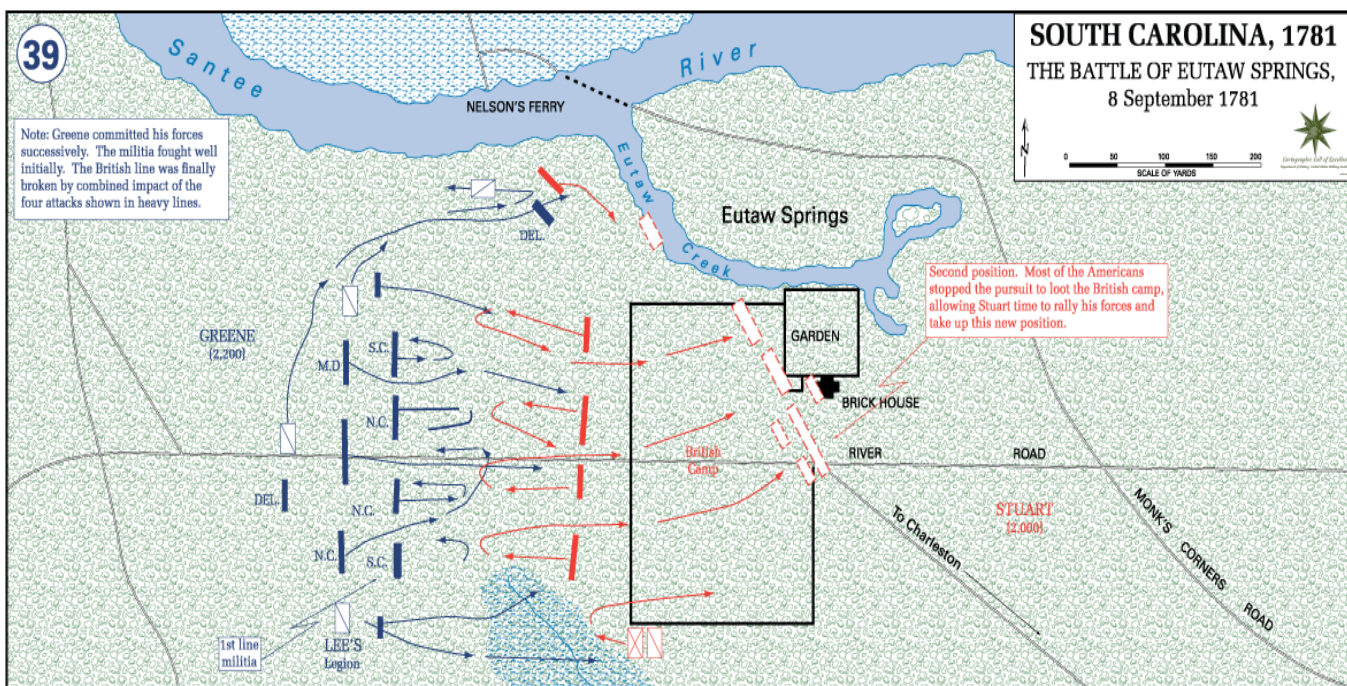
The next day Greene pursued British Col. Stewart, forcing him to retreat to the British garrison in Charleston. Historians quibble about who won the battle. The battle was a draw, but tactically the Americans succeeded. The British thought southern locals would support them. But they did not and they lost control of the South.

Humphreys and the Greene Medal

In 1785 Humphreys arranged the Greene medal by Dupré and the Gates medal by Gatteaux. The Paris Mint finally produced both medals in 1787.

Humphreys left France in November 1785. He had contracted with Dupré to engrave the Greene medal for 2,000 livres. This was around \$333 or £67, about three or four years wages for a laborer. Around May 1786 Dupré asked Humphreys to supply him with another likeness of Greene. The original painted miniature that Humphreys gave him just did not seem to inspire him.

Kraljevich says Dupré's long delay was one reason Humphreys pushed the Washington before Boston engraving to Duvivier rather than Dupré. But Humphreys left Paris in November 1785, six months before Dupré wrote asking for more inspiration.



Battle of Eutaw Springs 1781.

Humphreys left Paris in November 1785 to be elected to the Connecticut General Assembly. Though Humphreys arranged the Gates and Greene medals in 1785, Paris did not strike them until 1787. In May 1786 Thomas Jefferson wrote to Humphreys confirming he would take over responsibility for the remaining medals.

In February 1787 Jefferson wrote to John Jay saying his secretary, William Short, had received the Greene gold medal with 23 bronze copies. But Paris delayed delivery as with the Gates medal. Short packed Greene's gold medal and 23 bronze medals (and the dies) in March 1787. A French Packet ship sailed in May. John Jay received the medals in June, and sent them to the Congressional President, Arthur St. Clair, in July 1787.

It is interesting that there seems to be a month's delay for each transaction. One wonders whether each relay person kept the medal to admire for a few weeks, and show off to friends at dinner parties, until the time came that they really had to pass the medal on. These were exquisite treasures, perhaps equivalent to showing your guests the preview of the latest movie not yet available for public viewing!

Greene had died the year before. So St. Clair mailed it to Jeremiah Wadsworth, (Greene's executor) in August. Who was Jeremiah Wadsworth?

Jeremiah's father, Rev. Daniel Wadsworth, pastor of Hartford's Center Church, built a stable on his estate in 1730. It housed Washington's horse during the Revolutionary War for a time. They have now moved it to Lebanon, Connecticut, about 10 minutes from my house, where we can still see it as we pass through (see bottom of page).

Nice trivia questions are the names of Washington's horses! One was white called Blueskin, the other chestnut, called Nelson. My father trained as an English Royal Signals officer in 1936. Horsemanship was a huge and important part of training — they did not use vehicles. They say George Washington was the best horseman of his age. This was an era when such gross motor skills had importance matching professional athletes of today.

To return to Greene's executor, Jeremiah (1743-1804). He profited by his position as a sea captain, supplying the Continental Army. He made a fortune in the West India trade and became commissary for Comte de Rochambeau's army from 1779 to 1781.

Wadsworth also formed investment partnerships with Greene. After the Revolutionary War, Wadsworth became a banker, insurer and cattle breeder. He served in the Continental Congress in 1788, and for three terms in the US House of Representatives. His son Daniel (1771-1848) became a famous painter and architect, founding the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford.

We do not know who Jeremiah passed the gold medal to, perhaps Kitty Greene, Nathanael's widow aged 32. Nathaniel was only 43 when he died. Julian (see references) says Kitty received the dies.

Greene Eutaw Medal Details

The obverse shows the bust of Maj. Gen. Nathaniel Greene, in uniform, facing left. Curiously, his shoulder board does not show the two stars of a Major General. Rather than a live portrait, it looks like an engraving of a truncated bust someone has wrapped in silk or damask which has fallen beneath it. The legend reads NATHANIEL GREEN EGREGIO DUCI COMITIA AMERICANA, Latin for "The American Congress to Nathaniel Greene, a distinguished general". Dupr  mis-takenly spelled his name GREEN, not GREENE.

The reverse shows winged Victory holding a crown of laurel in her right hand and a palm branch in her left. One foot rests on a broken trophy of arms and flags of conquered enemies. The laurel crown is an award for a victor (as in the Nobel Laureate). A broken sword symbolizes a broken empire (England of course — the French loved that!) The palm also symbolizes victory, triumph, and peace.

The legend reads SALUS REGIONUM AUSTRALIUM. This does not mean, "Salt in the region of Australia!" It means, "The safety of the Southern regions." Neither does SIC GLORIA TRANSIT MUNDI mean, "Gloria was sick on the bus last Monday!" The inscription in the exergue reads: HOSTIBUS AD EUTAW DEBELLATIS DIE VIII SEPT MD-CCLXXXI, Latin for, "The enemy vanquished at Eutaw on 8th Sept. 1781." In the lower left field is DUPRE the engraver.

Types of Greene Medals

Benjamin Franklin Peale, who worked at the US Mint from 1833 to 1854, discovered the Greene dies (that Short shipped from Paris in 1787) around 1840. In 1843 Greene's grandson wrote to the US Mint asking for copies of the medal. Mint Director Patterson replied they did not have the dies to strike such medals. Instead he sent him electrotypes made by Franklin Peale (perhaps from the Paris dies).

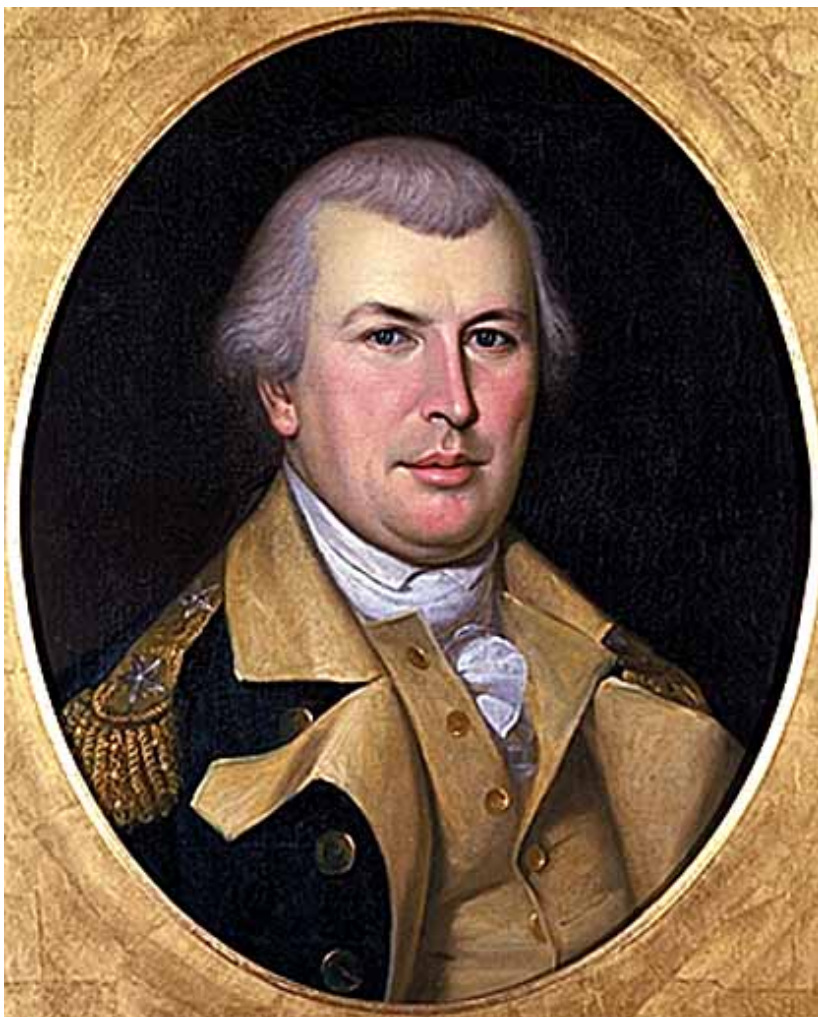


Wadsworth Stables in Lebanon, Connecticut.



2085

1781 BRONZE MAJ. GEN. NATHANAEAL GREENE EUTAW SPRINGS. BETS-597; JULIAN MI-10; 56MM, 98.2 GRAMS AU



Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene by Charles Willson Peale

Originals from France in 1787 are rare. A 2019 Adams EF copper medal sold for \$8,400. As Paris sent the dies to the US, Paris could not make restrikes. Some say the US Mint never used the dies to make restrikes. We do not know what happened to the dies in the US Mint.

Franklin Peale may have used the dies to make electrotypes in 1840. A Benjamin Franklin Peale electrotpe sold for \$2,160 in the 2019 Adams sale.

In 1886 the US Mint made copy dies, which they did not list until 1890, and did not strike until 1891. The copy dies have taller letters (see opposite below), and the reverse sword hilt is distant from DUPRE (see previous page). The Paris dies show the sword hilt touching DUPRE. On the copies the D of DEBELLATIS is separate from the rim as is the T of SEPT in the reverse exergue. On the originals both touch the rim.

Authorities do not list the engraver, but Charles Barber was Chief Engraver then. In the originals the S and T of AUSTRALIUM almost touch, and the T is slightly low. On the copy dies they are widely separated and the T is in line. But the copy die lettering is different as it is for most of the US Mint Comitia Americana copy dies. The copy die letters are shallower, regularly spaced and lined up. The font is different — less squat, sculpted and with wider uprights (see left).

Around 30 of these copy die strikes exist, selling for around \$2,000-\$5,000. The medal on the last page is one of these. The US Mint did not make gun-metal die copies.



Original dies lettering



Copy dies lettering

Some authorities say medals struck from these dies in the US show rust and die failure. Others say the Mint did not have the dies, or the dies were in such a dire state that they did not want to strike medals from them.

Adams and Bentley listed one gold, two silver and 12 bronze original Greene medal specimens (some bronzed and struck in America). The French strikes are not bronzed, but the US strikes are.

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CHAPTER FIVE

JEFFERSON : WASHINGTON BEFORE BOSTON AND WASHINGTON'S SILVER SET

Time Line of Revolutionary War

As this book is about the Revolutionary War here is a time line:

-Before Concord and Lexington-

1754-1763 The French and Indian War
 March 1765 Stamp Act
 June-July 1767 Townshend Acts
 March 1770 Boston Massacre
 1772 Sam Adams starts Committees of Correspondence
 December 1773 Boston Tea Party
 March-June 1774 Intolerable (=Coercive) Acts included
 Boston Port Closure and Quartering Act
 September-October 1774 First Continental Congress

-1775-

April 1775 Battles of Lexington & Concord, America won
 May 1775 Second Continental Congress until 1781
 May 1775 Allen & Arnold capture Fort Ticonderoga
 June 1775 Battle of Bunker Hill, America won
 June 1775 Washington Commander-in-Chief
 July 1775 Olive Branch petition rejected
 December 1775 Arnold and Montgomery failed to capture
 Quebec to get the French to fight England with them

-1776-

January 1776 Thomas Paine's Common Sense published
 March 1776 Dorchester Heights, America won
 June 1776 Battle of Sullivan's Island, Charleston,
 America won, British now focus on Northern campaign
 July 1776 Declaration of Independence
 August 1776 Battle of Long Island, British won
 September 1776 Harlem Heights, British won
 October 1776 White Plains, British won
 November 1776 Battles of Forts Mifflin & Red Bank,
 British won
 December 1776 Washington Night Attack Trenton,
 America won

-1777-

January 1777 Battle of Princeton, America won
 August 1777 Battle of Bennington, America won
 September 1777 Battle of Brandywine, British won,
 Led to Philadelphia occupation by British
 September 1777 British evacuated Philadelphia
 October 1777 Battle of Germantown, British won
 October 1777 Burgoyne surrenders to Gates at Saratoga
 November 1777 Second Continental Congress adopts
 Articles of Confederation
 Dec 1777-June 1778 Washington winters at Valley Forge

-1778-

February 1778 Franco-American Treaty
 June 1778 Battle of Monmouth Courthouse, America just
 won, American Maj. Gen. Lee court-martialed
 December 1778 English took Savannah, began southern
 campaign.

-1779-

July 1779 Battle of Stony Point, America won
 August 1779 Battle of Red Bank, America won
 September 1779 Jones Serapis

-1780-

March-May 1780 Siege of Charleston, British won
 May 1780 Battle of Waxhaws, British won
 June 1780 Congress appoint Robert Morris
 Superintendent of Finance
 August 1780 Battle of Camden, British won
 September 1780 Benedict Arnold traitor defects to British
 October 1780 Battle of Red Bank, America won

-1781-

January 1781 Battle of Cowpens, America won
 March 1781 Articles of Confederation ratified,
 Confederation Congress starts
 March 1781 Guilford Courthouse, British won
 September 1781 Battle of Eutaw Springs, draw
 October 1781 Yorktown, America won — ends war

-Post-War-

September 1783 Treaty of Paris
 November 1784 Morris resigns, replaced by three-
 member Board of Treasury
 June 1788 Ratification of US Constitution
 March 1789 End of Confederation Congress
 April 1789 US Congress and Washington elected

Supervision of Comitia Americana Medal Production

October 1776 - 1785 Benjamin Franklin in France
 July 1784 - Sept. 1789 Thomas Jefferson in France
 Sept. 1784 - Nov. 1785 John Humphrey in France
 May 1786 Jefferson accepts responsibility for Comitia
 Americana medals from Humphreys

A way of thinking about the Comitia Americana medals

1. The beginning of the war and the end of Britain's
 Northern and Southern Plans:
 - Washington before Boston 1776
 - Gates Saratoga 1777 end of northern plan
 - Greene Eutaw 1781 end of southern plan — not
 really! — the Libertas medal celebrating York-
 town was the end of the southern plan
2. two engagements with one recipient:
 - Lee Paulus Hook 1779
 - Jones Serapis 1779
3. two engagements with three recipients each:
 - Stony Point (Wayne, de Fleury, Stewart) 1779
 - Cowpens (Morgan, Howard, Washington) 1781



Thomas Jefferson Peace Medal #2620



Thomas Jefferson 1786 in London, by Mather Brown

Thomas Jefferson

President Kennedy once said, “I think this is the most extraordinary collection of talent, of human knowledge, that has ever been gathered together at the White House, with the possible exception of when Thomas Jefferson dined alone.”

Thomas Jefferson’s father was a planter and surveyor, who died when Jefferson was 14. Thomas (1743-1826) received half of his 10,000 acre estate; his brother Randolph the other half. Thomas studied math and philosophy at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, then studied law.

Jefferson married Martha Wayles when he was 29. Martha was his third cousin. She played piano to accompany him on the violin or cello, and read almost as widely as him. Martha inherited 11,000 acres and 135 slaves and died after 10 years of marriage. Jefferson never married again.

Jefferson had a succession of political appointments:

- Virginia delegate to the Continental Congress, 1775-1776 when he was the primary architect of the Declaration of Independence.
- Governor of Virginia, 1779-1781.
- Virginia Delegate to Confederation Congress 1783-4.
- Minister Plenipotentiary for Negotiating Treaties of Amity and Commerce, May 1784-May 1786.
- Minister to France, May 1785 – Sept. 1789.
- Secretary of State, March 1790-Dec 1793.
- Vice President, March 1797-March 1801.
- US President, March 1801-March 1809.

He left with two slaves and his daughter Patsy aged 12 arriving in Paris in August 1784. He was still grieving Martha’s death two years previously from diabetes.

He negotiated economic and friendship treaties with many countries from his base in Paris. In May 1785 Franklin, as Minister to France, left France for the US. Jefferson took over as Minister to France. The French foreign minister, Count de Vergennes, said, “You replace Monsieur Franklin, I hear.” Jefferson replied, “I succeed. No man can replace him.”

In 1786 he fell in love with Maria Cosway, a married musician. She left for England, but the two corresponded for the rest of their lives. He also sent for his other child Polly aged nine, whom Sally Hemings aged 16 brought from Monticello. Sally became pregnant from Jefferson, who promised to free their child when it became of age.

Continental Congress authorized a gold Washington before Boston medal in 1776 and appointed John Adams, John Jay, and Samuel Hopkins to execute a medal. They paid du Simitiere in Philadelphia \$32 to prepare sketches that went nowhere.

In 1779 Congress asked Franklin to expedite medal production in France. At the time, Congress had authorized six Comitia Americana medals. America did not have the technology to produce medals. As we have seen, Franklin, ever the wily diplomat, arranged only two medals: the Libertas Americana, which thanked France for her help, and the de Fleury, the only French officer awarded a medal. Franklin soon learned the Académie needed to research and design inscriptions way before the Paris Mint would even consider striking a medal.

Humphreys was the next man on the scene in September 1784. He stayed until November 1785. He got the presentation swords for lesser officers done and initiated the Gates and Greene medals in 1784. Crevecoeur brought them to the US in 1787. But there was a sticking point for the Washington medal. No one in Paris — even the great medalists Dupré, Duvivier and Gatteaux — knew what Washington even looked like. Presumably Franklin told him about how the Académie had to pick inscriptions for the medals before the Mint would move.

The Académie referred to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Colbert, Louis XIV's Minister of Finance, created the body in 1663, to decide on inscriptions on monuments. Organized in 1701, the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Medals became the Academy of Inscriptions and Fine Letters in 1716.

Meanwhile, the Virginia State Assembly had commissioned a Washington statue in 1784. Franklin and Jefferson, both in Paris, said, "Get Houdon!" He was the most prominent sculptor in Europe at the time. In late 1785 Houdon sailed to the US with three assistants. For a couple of weeks they followed Washington around at Mount Vernon to see how he moved, and to try to capture his face. Houdon did a clay model of his bust in 1785, then a life mask. He arrived back in France in January 1786. Now the medalists would have something to go on!

To make the life mask, Jean Antoine Houdon had Washington lie down with his eyes closed. He then applied a layer of grease to his face, inserted straws into his nose, then applied wet plaster. He removed the cast and poured plaster into the mold to make a positive model.



Houdon's plaster bust of Washington 1786.

Humphreys had drawn up a contract with Dupré for 6,000 livres. But he never consummated the contract. Houdon pushed for Duvivier to engrave the medal. Humphreys wrote to Jefferson in January 1786 saying give the commission to Duvivier for an agreed upon 2,400 livres. John Kraljevich says he was paid 3,600 livres.

Franklin left France in July 1785 and Humphreys in November 1785. Jefferson arrived in Paris in August 1784 then took over from Franklin as the Minister to France. In May 1786 Jefferson accepted responsibility from Humphreys for the remaining Comitia Americana medals.



Original silver Comitia Americana set given to Washington (Courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Society).

Although internet sources say Houdon completed his bust from the life mask of Washington in 1786, Musante suggests he may not have completed the bust until 1788 — the date on the bust sent to the Virginia Assembly in 1796. It is amazing to me that an artist should be asked in 1784 to execute a commission, sculpt it in 1788 and mail it in 1796! I know sea travel took time, but not 12 years! Perhaps he was waiting to be paid!

But there seemed to be something that prevented bringing the medals to completion. Franklin did not do it, neither did Humphreys. Jefferson also dallied for another three years. Why was this? The possible reasons are:

- Other pressing diplomatic engagements.
- Enjoying the good life in Paris.
- Difficulties persuading artists to do work.
- A stand offish attitude of French artists.
- Low priority given to medal awards.
- Combination or succession of different factors.
- Lead up to the French Revolution
- Payment problems

The Seven Years' War, ending in 1763, left enormous debts. Louis XVI came to the throne in 1774 amid a financial crisis. He gave the nascent America vast amounts of money, supplies and troops. These cost France around 1.5 billion livres. French taxation was abusively regressive. The nobility and clergy paid no taxes at all!

In 1777 Louis XVI appointed the banker, Jacques Necker, Director General of the Royal Treasury. Unfortunately, he was a protestant so Louis could not make him Controller General. Necker abolished over 500 sinecures, donated 2.4 million livres of his own to the royal treasury and refused a salary. He tried to make taxation less regressive.

Necker also made the country's budget public in 1781 — the first time anyone had done this. For this, Louis XVI dismissed him. In 1786 Calonne, the Finance Minister knew France would shortly have to declare bankruptcy. He convened the Assembly of Notables, who had not met for 160 years. The king's astounding spending continued.

In 1788 the king recalled Necker and made him Chief Minister of France, even granting him access to the royal council for the first time. The next year there was a famine in France. Necker doubled the representation of Third Estate deputies to equal the first two.

What was the third estate? From medieval times Christian countries used three estates to order society. France still used it in 1789. When the Estates General met in May 1789 Necker told the First Estate (nobility) and the Second Estate (clergy), that unless they yielded, the government would go bankrupt. (The Fourth Estate is the press. The Fifth Estate has varying meanings but often refers to alternative media who keep an eye on the Fourth Estate.)

In June 1789 representatives of the Third Estate convened to form the National Assembly in Revolutionary France. They declared all taxes illegal. In July mobs stormed the Bastille.

Why all this detail? Jefferson lived in Paris while this was all going on. In 1789 France was imploding in slow motion. Remarkably, this was when Jefferson got the medals made. From January to August 1789 Jefferson got six Comitia Americana medals completed.

The early three were:

1. Washington before Boston by Duvivier.
2. Washington Cowpens by Duvivier.
3. Howard Cowpens by Duvivier.

Later in the year he got three more completed:

1. Morgan Cowpens by Dupré.
2. Stewart Stony Point by Dupré.
3. Wayne Stony Point by Gatteaux.

The big three French medalists at this time were:

1. Pierre Simon Benjamin Duvivier (1730-1819) appointed Graveur du Roi (Engraver to the King) in 1761, when his father Jean Duvivier, also Graveur du Roi, died.
2. Nicolas Marie Gatteaux (1751-1832) appointed Graveur du Roi in 1781.
3. Augustin Dupré (1748-1833) assistant engraver at the Paris Mint then appointed Graveur Général des Monnaies 1791-1803 by the Convention Nationale — the First French Government after the Revolution.

Duvivier exhibited his Washington before Boston medal in the summer in Paris. Yes! During the storming of the Bastille! Jefferson left Paris in late September with it, sailing to England with his daughters, slaves and medals. A

month later he sailed for the US on the *Clérmont*, arriving in Norfolk, Virginia, in late November. There he learned that Washington had made him Secretary of State.

Shortly after docking, the *Clérmont* caught fire. Fortunately, someone rescued the medals. Jefferson had a mahogany box made by Upton to hold the eleven silver medals for Washington. He travelled to New York City in March 1790, where Washington was staying before his inauguration. There, Jefferson gave Washington his gold medal on March 21, and the special presentation set of 11 silver medals. Adams says Washington never (publicly) commented on the gold medal. Perhaps the 14-year delay irritated him. Perhaps he was just modest and reserved. Washington's inauguration was on the portico of Federal Hall in New York in April 1789:



Federal Hall, New York City. Washington's 1st inauguration.

Washington's 11 silver medal set included:

- De Fleury (1780) and Libertas Americana (1782)
- Franklin Natus Boston (1784)
- Gates and Greene (1787)
- The six medals listed on the left (1789).

George Washington

George Washington (1732-1799) was born to a wealthy land owning family in Virginia. We know little of his childhood, though he was educated at home. When his father, Augustine, died in 1743 George, aged 11, inherited Ferry Farm, and 10 slaves. His half-brother Lawrence (14 years older than George) inherited Little Hunting Creek. Lawrence much admired Admiral Vernon for whom he had worked. The English fought Spain for control of the Caribbean trade. Vernon daringly seized Spanish-held Portobello in 1739. Lawrence renamed his estate Mount Vernon after him.

George learnt to survey and make maps as a child. He often visited Lawrence's father-in-law, William Fairfax, who became his patron. Aged 16, George was appointed county surveyor for Culpepper. While working as a surveyor 1748-1750, he bought 1,500 acres bringing his land holdings to 2,300 acres. He stood 6' 3" high, had blue eyes, and a dominating physical presence. Jefferson said he was, "The best horseman of his age and the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback."

The average height in 1700s and 1800s was 5' 5". Some say aristocrats then tended to be taller than average laborers. Good childhood nutrition avoided rickets, which stunted growth.

In 1751 George, aged 19, visited Barbados with his half-brother Lawrence. They were hoping a change in climate would help his brother's tuberculosis. George got small-pox during the trip, with slight facial scarring. Lawrence died of tuberculosis a year later. Washington then leased Mount Vernon from Lawrence's widow and inherited it outright when she died in 1761. Aged 29 he owned 8,000 acres. Washington was an aggressive land speculator, amassing 32,000 acres by 1774, and eventually over 50,000 acres.

After service in the Virginia militia, Washington sought a commission. Royal Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie appointed him Major. The Ohio River Valley became a center of contention at the time. In 1748 a group of Virginia investors, including Dinwiddie, created the Ohio Company to sell land in West Virginia along the Ohio River Valley. Dinwiddie heard reports the French were building a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers, called Fort Duquesne (in present day Pittsburgh). Iroquois Indians really owned the land.



Ohio River Valley in Colonial Times

In December 1753 Dinwiddie sent now Lt. Col. Washington with a letter to demand the French vacate their fort in Ohio. Ohio then was not a state but the Ohio River Valley — Indian territory. Intercepted by a French patrol and taken to their commander, he politely informed Washington that his letter should have been addressed to his seniors in New France — another was of saying, "Get lost!"

A brief interlude about the Ohio River Valley: Virginians wanted to buy and sell land in the valley, west of the Appalachian Mountains. New Yorkers felt their covenant chain with the Iroquois gave them precedence over Iroquois lands in the valley. Western Pennsylvanians were very close to the lands and traded with the Iroquois.

The French started leaving lead plates there, saying the French King owned the land. England realized they needed to do something. A 1754 Congress of seven of the thir-

teen colonies met in Albany to improve relationships with the Iroquois and Mohawk and formulate a common defense against French Canada. But negotiations went nowhere.

In March 1754 Dinwiddie sent Washington on a second expedition to confront the French. With 186 men, he partnered with local Indians. Lt. Col. Washington made a surprise attack on a small French encampment of 30+ men, killing Jumonville, a French ambassador. Jumonville's brother was the Fort Duquesne's commander, who later sent out 900 French to attack Washington.

Washington expected the attack. By June he finished building Fort Necessity, 37 miles south of Fort Duquesne. One hundred British regulars joined him. In July Jumonville attacked. Outnumbered, Washington surrendered, but was allowed to return to Virginia.

British officers were aristocrats. The first son inherited the family estate. The family bought a commission for the second son as a military or naval officer. The third often went into the clergy, and the fourth often became manager of the estate. Any others had to fend for themselves. Once commissioned, officers gained promotion by talent or by buying it. Generals were born, not made. This was anathema to Americans like Washington.

The British regarded provincial militia as inferiors. Provincial militia elected their officers because they liked them, had money to pay for things, or felt they were better leaders. When a British Lieutenant outranked a provincial Colonel, this made Americans resentful, feeling they were not really British. Washington's commission was not from the King but from Dinwiddie, so he was a provincial. He may have thought, if he could get a King's commission, he could be a proper gentleman. But no-one offered him one, so he also felt alienated from the British.

A long world war lasting from 1692 to 1815 took place between the French and English empires, the two strongest empires at the time. It was the first real world war. It spread to Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and North America. Some call it the Great War of Empire.

Britain and France struggled to assert their trade, project their sea power, and extend their overseas colonies. Catholicism was one of the triggering events. In 1688 the British threw out Catholic King James II. They invited the Protestant William of Orange to come over from Holland and take over as King.

Catholic France tried to put Catholic James II back on the English throne. When Catholic France lost its attempt to put James II back on the English throne in 1691, they planned to invade England. A large French fleet set sail in 1692. England and Holland intercepted them. At the Battle of La Hogue, 120 Dutch and English ships chased France's fleet of 80 ships back into La Hogue harbor. And that was the end of the French invasion!

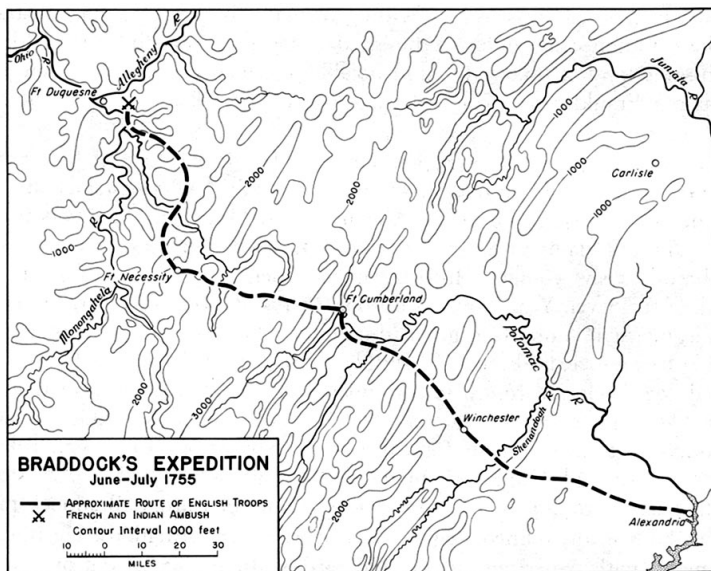
In North America a parallel war started in 1688 between British North America and New France. This centered on the Iroquois Indians and their control of land and trade. This Great Imperial War lasted more than a century, ending with the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 when the English finally defeated the French.

The French and Indian Wars were part of this Great Imperial War. There were four of them, we call the last one **THE** French and Indian War:

- King William's War 1688-1697. In Europe they called it the War of the Grand Alliance, ending with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.
- Queen Anne's War 1702-1713. In Europe they called it the War of the Spanish Succession, ending with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713
- King George's War 1744-1748. In Europe they called it the War of Austrian Succession, ending with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748
- The French and Indian War 1754-1763. In Europe they called it the Seven Years War (it started there in 1756, ending with the Treaty of Paris in 1763).

Washington in some ways started the conflict in 1754 with his second visit to Duquesne.

The third try to remove the French from Fort Duquesne came in 1755. British Maj. Gen. Braddock had a road built to move his artillery and his baggage train. The General brought his entourage of 86 officers, his tent, his servants, chinaware, silverware, port, and his private cook. Even in war, aristocrats lived in luxury!



Braddock's Expedition

The road ran from Fort Cumberland to Fort Duquesne, around 130 miles (see above). Washington had proposed his usual southern route, but the British wanted their artillery, and their own road. Washington volunteered to help Braddock with travel in the wilderness. The French had only 250 French military at Fort Duquesne and 600 Indians. Braddock had 1,400 men. The French knew they could not defeat such a superior force with conventional fighting. So they sent out an advance party of 300 who found ditches by Braddock's Road. They attacked suddenly, surrounding the British. Braddock had three horses shot from under him. His third encounter was fatal.

Washington also had three horses shot from under him, but managed to escape. The French and Indians killed or wounded 63 of the 86 officers and 780 of the 1,200 remaining soldiers, one of the greatest routs of British troops at the time.

Washington got back to Virginia and gave the first report to the British. Dinwiddie appointed him commander of all Virginian forces — only 300 men to defend 300 miles of mountainous border. Washington was just 23.

Braddock's expedition was part of a three pronged attack against the French trying to control the Ohio River Valley. William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, led a second expedition from New York to Fort Niagara, but became disconcerted after hearing of Braddock's defeat, and gave up. William Johnson led the third expedition up the Hudson River to Crown Point on Lake Champlain. Using Indian allies, his expedition was the only successful one. He was able to take the French Fort, St. Frédéric.

British Major General James Wolfe took Fort Louisbourg and Quebec in 1759. The next year the British took Montreal. The Iroquois then moved over to the British side, completing British control of New France. In The Treaty of Paris in 1763, France gave up all their territories in North America except Louisiana Territory.

In 1759 Washington resigned and returned to Mount Vernon to marry the diminutive but wealthy Martha Custis. This elevated him to first line rather than second line Virginia aristocracy.

He became a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses where he served until 1774. While there, he increasingly opposed the British. He became a delegate to the First Continental Congress 1774-1775.

King George III said the colonies were in open rebellion, and pushed Gen. Gage, Commander-in-Chief of British forces in North America, to tighten his grip. After the battles of Lexington and Concord in April 1775, American militia surrounded the British in Boston.

Benedict Arnold then told the Massachusetts Committee of Safety that the British at Fort Ticonderoga defended their armaments poorly. In May 1775, he joined with Ethan Allen's Green Mountain Boys, and captured the fort with its 59 cannon.

Meanwhile, Congress unanimously appointed Washington Commander-in-Chief in June 1775. Aged 43 he commanded the newly formed Continental Army of 16,000 short-term untrained men. They offered to pay him \$500 a month which he declined, asking for expenses only. The first issue of Continental Currency was May 10, 1775. Washington meticulously accounted for his expenses over eight years, which totaled \$24,699. He was Commander-in-Chief from June 1775 to December 1783, and averaged \$242 a month in expenses.

Washington arrived in Boston after the June 1775 Battle of Bunker Hill, fought on behalf of the Continentals under American General Israel Putnam. On July 4 the Continental Congress sent an 'olive branch petition' to the British, which they rejected. Washington dug in for the long term, deciding to avoid offensives he considered too risky. Instead he would fight a war of attrition.

Knox suggested, then masterfully transported 60 tons of armaments 300 miles to Cambridge, Massachusetts between November 17, 1775, and January 27, 1776, includ-

ing supplies of shells and gunpowder. Col. Knox was an obese bookseller who had studied artillery from books in his spare time. He became Washington's artillery chief and later head of the army, then Secretary of War.



Lt. Gen. Washington, 1776 by Charles Willson Peale.

Washington decided to occupy the strategic Dorchester Heights using diversions beforehand. Two thousand troops pulled cannon uphill, using hay bales on the English side to muffle the sound. Overnight, on March 4, they built earthworks. He figured the British would try to attack as they did at Bunker Hill and again lose thousands more men from their disadvantaged position. His plan included sending 4,000 men in small boats to take the British garrison in Boston

British General Sir William Howe awoke the next morning staring down the barrels of 50 cannon. He said, "The rebels have done more in one night than my army could do in months." Howe prepared to assault with 2,400 men that night. Washington's had spies who told him of this. He immediately increased his troops to 6,000.

A severe snowstorm then sprang up, frustrating Howe's attack. He told Washington that he would not burn Boston if his troops could leave by ship. The first favorable weather was March 17th. One hundred and twenty ships left, carrying 11,000 soldiers and civilians to Nova Scotia.

Four months later the British landed on Staten Island with 30,000 troops, 10 ships of the line and 20 frigates. Each ship of the line needed around 800 men to operate! This was the largest naval assault in history to date. Washington was waiting for them on Manhattan Island, but realized he could not defend it against such a force. The British attacked Patriot fortifications in Brooklyn, but turned back. British General Howe was just giving a show of force to

encourage Patriots to become Royalists. He planned on reducing the Fort's earthworks by cannon later, instead of another costly frontal assault like Bunker Hill.

Three days later Washington slipped away to Harlem Heights on Manhattan with the help of Capt. John Glover and his Marblehead fishermen. He had just started his Fabian strategy.

There are many strategies to win a war, but they boil down to a limited number:

- Attrition — gradually erode the enemy's military power.
- Annihilation — such a massive conquest that they totally destroy the enemy.
- Exhaustion — sidestep military engagements, instead focus on starvation, economy, psychology, industry, etc.
- Fabian strategy — a variation on Attrition. Named after the Roman Senator and General, Quintus Fabius Maximus, when he fought Hannibal. He simply disappeared whenever Hannibal attacked. This strategy is best used by the weaker side. It makes the enemy wonder whether they are willing to spend more than they want to. And this was Washington's strategy.

Fast forward to the British defeat in October 1781 at Yorktown. Negotiations began in Paris in April 1782. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay drafted the Treaty of Paris November 30th, 1782. The treaty included France, Spain and the Netherlands. It comprised 32 agreements which they had to ship back and forth across the Atlantic. The Americans negotiated directly with the British who gave them a more favorable treaty anticipating a great trading relationship. Participants signed the Treaty of Paris September 3, 1783. The last British forces evacuated New York November 25, 1783.

The states ratified the new Constitution in June 1788. After two months of vote counting, the Electoral College elected Washington President for his first of two terms. His inauguration was in April 1790. He returned to Mount Vernon in March 1797, living out his last two plus years at home.

In December 1799 he died from quinsy (a tonsillar abscess), or more accurately, from excessive blood-letting (five pints)! This caused or accelerated his death. His estate was estimated at \$780,000. Using a GDP multiplier of \$86 per capita per annum then, and \$65,456 in 2019 that is equivalent to \$500 million today. Measuringworth.com feels a more accurate wealth index is a percentage of National GDP. Using that multiplier Washington would have been worth \$37 billion. He was a very wealthy man!

He left 317 slaves. One reason he had so many slaves was that he did not like splitting up families. So he ended up accumulating slaves and had many mouths to feed. For us to compare modern morals to those of the time is unfair, though politically correct. His influence on America has been "godlike".

Washington Before Boston Medal

The gold medal passed to Washington's descendants. In 1876 citizens of Boston put up the money to buy the medal from George Lafayette Washington's widow for \$5,000.

This medal has many iterations, explained best by Neil Musante in his superlative masterwork *Medallic Washington*. It was the first medal authorized by the American Congress. The 100 Greatest medals ranks this medal #2, after the *Libertas Americana*.

Musante devotes 41 pages to the Washington before Boston medal in his *Medallic Washington*. Why? Because it is important and complicated. He lists the following die combinations, prices for unc in parentheses:

- **GW-09 clichés 1789 Obv1 and Rev1**
- **GW-09-P1 1789 1st Paris Mint issue Obv2/rev1 (\$12k)**
- **GW-09-P2 Error date 1789 obv2/rev2 (\$10k)**
- **GW-09-P2A Error date corrected 1830 obv2/rev2a (\$8k)**
- **GW-09-P3 Paris 1835-1880 3rd reverse obv2/rev3 (\$1k)**
- **GW-09-P3 Washington/marriage medal 1888 unique**
- **GW-09-P4 Paris 1880-1910 blasted dies obv2a/rev3a (\$350)**
- **GW-09-P5 Paris 1910-1930 5th reverse obv2a/rev5 (\$300)**
- **GW-09-P6 Paris modern dies 1930-date. Shiny bronze (\$100)**
- **GW-09-US1 1st US Issue Gunmetal dies 1860. Used P3 thus obv2/rev3 — 3 hooves (\$1,000)**
- **GW-09-US2 US C. Barber copy dies 1885 — 4 hooves (\$1,000)**
- **GW-09-US3 US gold bronze copied Barber die (\$70)**

ORIGINAL DIES

Duvivier's **original die** obverse shows an exergual line and uses the letter U not V. The first reverse showed a grouping of 4 facing horse hooves behind Washington's horse's rear legs. They also show Washington pointing with a long index finger. Either Duvivier, Jefferson or the Académie rejected these dies, so only clichés exist from them. What is a cliché?

Unhardened dies are brittle and easily damaged when struck. Once hardened, modifications are too difficult. Musante explains three types of **clichés** (also called **proofs** or **épreuves** in French).

- **Splasher** — the medalist poured molten lead or white metal onto a piece of cardboard. He then put the unhardened die into the molten metal, and held a board over it, which he hammered lightly until the molten metal hardened. The edges were like a splash of metal.
- **Cliché** — medalists made these in a clichoir. They set the die (hardened or unhardened) in grooves, ready to drop onto molten metal (set on cardboard) that had hardened into a paste. Once dropped, the medalist screwed the die tighter with screws, then trimmed excess metal off the edges. Why did they bother? In Paris it was illegal for medalists to sell their medals, but they could sell clichés as they were uniface.
- **Shell (repoussé)** — the medalist put a thin piece of gold, silver, copper, or tin onto the die. He then poured hot pitch over the metal which softened it. He then gently tapped or pressed the metal into the unhardened die. After the pitch hardened, he removed it. Shells show softer letters than a cliché, and their backs are dark and shows pits from tapping. By contrast, electrotypes show sharper lettering with uniform granular pitted backs.

SECOND DIES

Duvivier's **second obverse** shows no exergual line and uses Vs instead of Us. The reverse shows the error date 1276 (MCCLXXVI) and a normal length index finger, and the same 4 hooves facing behind Washington's horse's rear legs.

Reverse 2a shows a corrected date.

The obverse die 2a was die 2 polished to remove spall marks (pits in the dies leaving pimples on the medal) then sandblasted the dies.

THIRD DIES

The **third Paris reverse** die shows only 3 hooves facing behind Washington's horse's rear legs. The pole of the left most officer is much shorter. The date is correct. 3a reverse dies were the same except ground down and sandblasted.

If you combine these details with Musante's list opposite, and the list of Paris Mint edge markings on page 25, you can identify which is which.

Description of Washington Before Boston Medal

The example of the Washington before Boston shown opposite is Musante GW-09-US1, the first US Mint issue using **gun metal dies** made in 1863. It shows three hooves under Washington's horse's belly. There are no edge markings and the colors are beautiful suggesting this is a US Mint product.

The obverse opposite is from obverse die 2 and shows a bust of Washington facing right, taken from Houdon's bust. He has a queue (ponytail) tied with ribbon. Below the truncation is DVVIVIER PARIS. F. (Duvivier, Paris, made it). Below the bust is the inscription, COMITIA AMERICANA, which continues as the legend around: GEORGIO WASHINGTON SVPREMO DVCI EXERCITVVM AD SERTORI LIBERATIS. (American Congress to George Washington, General-in-Chief of Armies, Defender of Liberty.)

The reverse opposite is from reverse die 3 and shows Washington on horseback with four officers and cannons, overlooking Boston harbor from Dorchester Heights. In the center is the Continental Army marching towards Boston, and the British sailing away from Boston. Humphreys had instructed Duvivier to show the British hastening to their boats, rather than sailing away. Artistic license? Maybe. To understand the geography, it is helpful to look at a contemporary map (see next page).

The legend at top reads, HOSTIBUS PRIMO FUGATIS (The enemy for the first time put to flight). In the exergue is the inscription: BOSTONIUM RECUPERATUM XVII MARTII MDCCLXXVI. (Boston retaken March 17, 1776) DVVIV on nearest cannon. (3 hooves under belly).

In 1973 the US Mint made a collection entitled "America's First Medals," including 38 mm pewter copies of 10 Comitiam American Medals. They included a well-illustrated booklet written by the Clain-Stefanellis. They still show up on eBay in the \$30 range.



1624

WASHINGTON BEFORE BOSTON FIRST US MINT ISSUE GUN METAL DIES 1863-1890. MUSANTE GW-09-US1; 68MM MS64

Gunmetal and Copy Medals

Gunmetal is not metal used for making guns. They called it gunmetal because people used it to make bronze cannon. They also call it red brass, an alloy of 88% copper, 8-10% tin, and 2-4% zinc. People also used cast iron for cannon, but it rusted aboard ship. In addition cast cannon weighed more for the same caliber, so field artillery needed more horses to pull it than bronze cannon. Steel cannon replaced bronze starting in 1847.

They heated the red brass almost to melting (1,000 degrees Celsius) then pressed it heavily onto a medal, creating two negative dies, which they might touch up, or re-engrave letters. This process ruined the original medal.

The US Mint started producing many medals for collectors in the early 1840s. Chief Coiner Benjamin Franklin Peale started making electrotypes for collectors then. According to John Kraljevich the August 1844 issue of the Niles Weekly Register listed for sale:

- Gates Paris Mint die strikes
- Morgan dies (actually Barré copy dies of 1839-1840)
- Electrotypes of Washington before Boston, Wayne, Fleury, William Washington, Howard, Greene, & Jones.

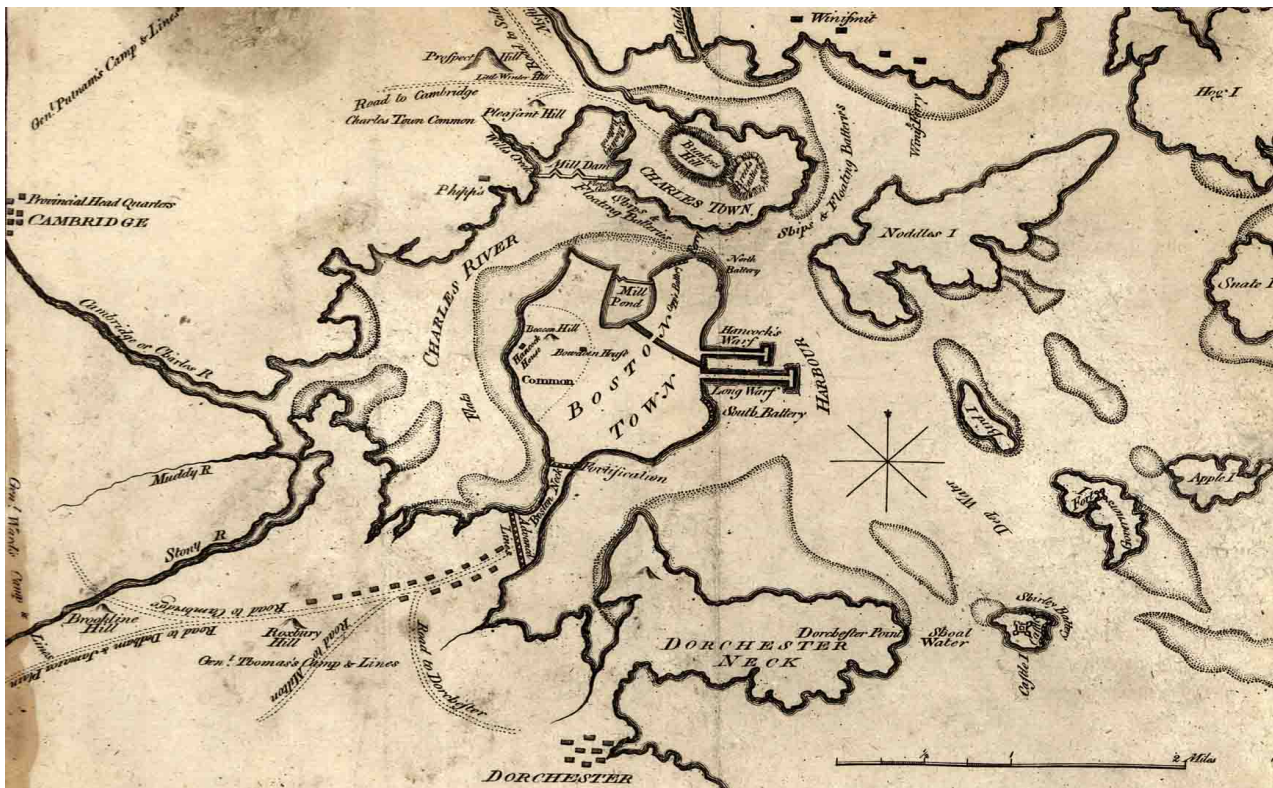
James Pollock, Mint Director, asked the Paris Mint for the dies, but they only sent struck medals (Washington before Boston, William Washington, Howard, and Jones) which arrived in March 1862. Pollock then ordered gun metal dies from these medals in 1863. These dies wore out quickly. The Washington before Boston dies lasted until 1885 striking 145 medals, more than any other gunmetal dies. The William Washington dies only survived 77 strikes.

James Longacre of the Philadelphia Mint supervised the gun metal transfer dies in 1863. But he had to redo the lettering, notably the O's, which became oval rather than round as in the originals. These new gunmetal die medals had broad rims with sharp edges rather than the slightly chamfered edges of the Paris restrikes.

Gunmetal dies usually lasted less than 100 strikings and deteriorated. In 1885 Charles Barber using an electrotype of an original Paris medal (GW-09-P2A) engraved a remarkable copy. The reverse die had four hooves like the original. As Julian commented, "He was determined to show that engravers of the New World were fully equal to those of the Old." The new dies had smaller obverse lettering, differently aligned; taller, narrower reverse letters; and stops in the exergue. The Mint started using these **new copy dies** shortly after they finished them.

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Contemporary Map of Boston in 1776. Washington's horse stood on Dorchester Neck looking north.

CHAPTER SIX

JEFFERSON: THE REMAINING TWO STONY POINT MEDALS

Jefferson's first "tranche" of medals in early 1789 included Washington before Boston, William Washington Cowpens and Howard Cowpens.

The word "tranche" is unusual here. I am not sure who started using this, but people usually use the word in finance for split sums of money. The word came to prominence during the subprime mortgage crisis. Bankers securitized mortgages, and split the mortgage-backed securities into distinct groups of money called "tranches" — obfuscation for bad risk, worse risk and terrible risk!

Securitization means pooling debt, like mortgages, auto loans, etc., and selling them off as securities for investors to buy. Banks doing this made lots of money on repackaging them, but also misrepresented their safety.

These securitized derivatives led to the Great Recession which included the 2007 banking crisis and the 2008 financial crisis. This was the worst recession since the Great Depression (unless the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic overtakes that). By August 2008, 9% of US mortgages defaulted. Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, two giant government-backed mortgage companies started hemorrhaging money. The government had to take them over. Foreclosures led to a downward spiral in real estate prices.

Even the word subprime was an attempt to hoodwink people. Subprime sounds like below the prime rate. Not at all! It meant borrowers who had such a bad credit history they would default! But no banks would call them bad-credit-risk mortgages! This was an era when investment banks rampantly ripped off investors.

I prefer the word "early" and "late" to describe any significant division of Jefferson getting medals done. I could not find out the dates for Jefferson accomplishing the first and second groups of medals. There! Now I've said my piece!

When Jefferson returned to America in October 1789 on the *Clérmont*, he brought with him 17 medals:

- 11 silver medal presentation set for George Washington
- 3 gold medals:
 - Washington before Boston
 - Brig. Anthony Wayne, Stony Point
 - Brig. Daniel Morgan, Cowpens
- 3 silver medals:
 - Lt. Col. William Washington, Cowpens
 - Lt. Col. Howard, Cowpens
 - Maj. Stewart, Stony Point

This is all very confusing. An easier way of remembering things is to say that Franklin already did the de Fleury. Humphreys did the Gates and Greene. Jefferson then did the Washington before Boston, and the remaining Stony Point and Cowpens medals, each of which had three awardees. Generals got gold medals, officers below that rank got silver medals.

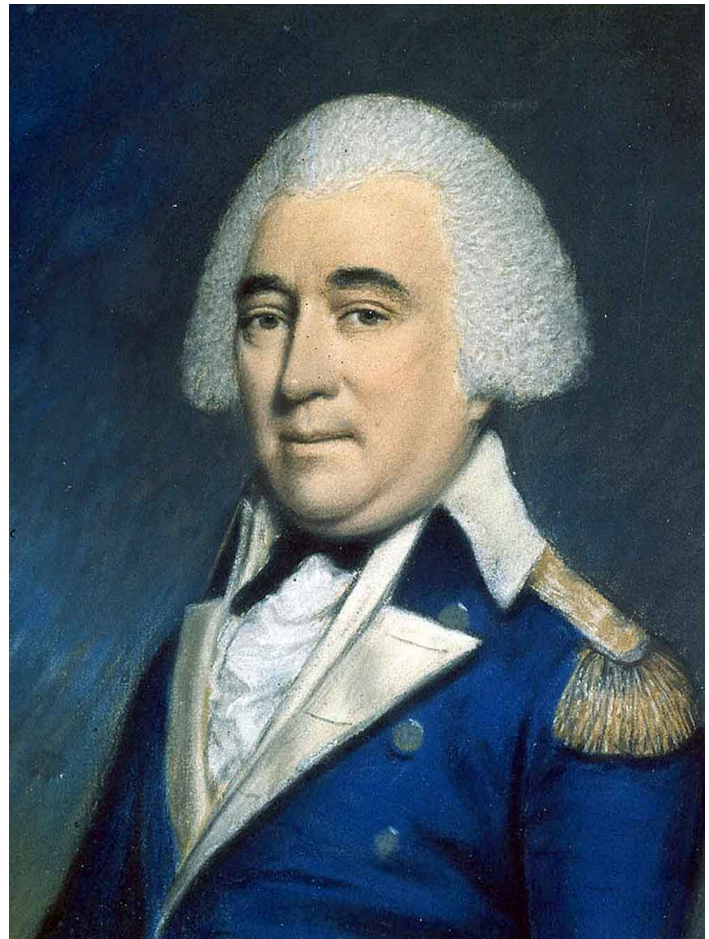
I will deal with the remaining two Stony Point Medals in this chapter, then the three Cowpens medals in the next chapter, all of which Jefferson brought back with him. I have already described details of the Battle of Stony Point in chapter two.

Brig. Anthony Wayne

Franklin had accomplished de Fleury's Stony Point medal and clumsily suggested tooling off the words "de Fleury" and substituting Wayne and Stewart's names in 1780.

Franklin never sent Wayne's and Stewart's "cheapos" in 1780. Perhaps he had second thoughts. In 1784 he gave the Wayne gold cheapo to Henry Laurens (one of the American Treaty of Paris negotiators who sailed to the US in August), to give to Maj. Gen Wayne. I am not sure that history recorded Wayne's reaction on receiving the medal.

John Kraljevich reported in the 2019 John Adams Sale, "Jefferson created a properly unique medal for Wayne before returning from Paris in 1789... The first gold medal was deaccessioned from the Wayne family holdings within a few decades. In the February 1851 Lewis Roper auction... lot 22½ was described as 'Gold Medal' — Storming of Stony Point, value in gold \$30. It brought \$38 and has not been seen since."



Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne, James Sharples Sr. pastel 1795

Anthony Wayne's (1745-1796) family were Irish-Protestant immigrants to Pennsylvania. Anthony attended the College of Philadelphia, which Franklin had started as a secondary school. Anthony learnt surveying, worked in his father's leather tanning business, and became a Pennsylvania legislator in 1774.

In 1775 he raised a militia unit. He helped Benedict Arnold in his attempt to capture English held Quebec. If they could seize Quebec from British control, the local French might support America's quest for independence. But the attempt was unsuccessful.

In September 1777, Brig. Wayne fought with Washington against British Gen. Howe at the Battle of Brandywine, Maryland. Each army had around 15,000 men. Washington was trying to stop the British getting to Philadelphia, the American capital at the time. But he failed. America lost 950 killed or wounded. The British lost 700.

Wayne also fought with Washington in the Battle of Germantown, Maryland in October 1777, also a failure for Patriots. Wayne advanced his forces at Germantown so rapidly that he became encircled by British Gen. Howe and had to retreat!

Wayne overwintered with Washington at Valley Forge from December 1777 to June 1778. Washington gave Wayne command of a temporary unit of four regiments of light infantry companies. Their first success was at the Battle of Stony Point, detailed in chapter two.

After Stony Point he earned the nickname "Mad Anthony," for his bravery and courage. He took part in eight battles during the Revolutionary War. After the war he became a Major General. He retired to a large rice plantation in Georgia. They gave him this for negotiating peace treaties with the Creeks and Cherokees. There he briefly became a Georgia Congressman.

Washington recalled him to lead forces in the Northwest Indian War (1785-1795). Many Indians in the Ohio River Valley allied with the British. But, in the 1783 Treaty of Paris, England granted the territory to the US without consulting the Indians.

Indians joined together to form the Western Indian Confederacy or Miami Confederacy. They resisted US settlement there leading to the Northwest Indian War. The English gave surreptitious support to the Indians — perhaps just a case of sour grapes. Wayne successfully concluded the war at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, near present-day Toledo, Ohio. He negotiated the Treaty of Greenville with the Indians signed in 1795. Ohio became the 17th state in 1803. The next year, aged just 51, Wayne died from gout, I assume from renal failure.

Wayne Stony Point Medal

The obverse of the Wayne medal shows America as an Indian Queen dressed in a tobacco leaf dress, with a bow, an alligator, and an American shield at her feet. The alligator is an American attribute. America presents a laurel wreath (for victory) and mural crown to Gen. Wayne, who holds his tricorne hat. A mural crown signifies a distinguished soldier's career, or a town named after a person. Wayne had both, including over 50 villages, towns, townships, cities and counties named after him.

In the exergue is COMITIA AMERICANA. The legend around continues: ANTONIO WAYNE DUCI EXERCITUS (American Congress to General Anthony Wayne). Above the exergual line is GATTEAUX, the engraver.

The reverse shows a battery with abatis and troops in the foreground, and six ships on the river. Wayne and de Fleury advance wading through the water from the South on the right. On the left is Fort Stony Point rising above the beach, with the diversionary attack from the western spit of land that extended to the fort. Gatteaux engraved stone towers with crenelations. He may or may not have known that the fort was wood and earthworks, or may have used artistic license.

Likewise, artistic license or artistic ignorance explains the use of cannon in the foreground and the advancing phalanx from the left with flags! The whole point of the attack was single file assault under silence in the middle of the night! The Académie took care of the lettering and inscriptions, including changing STONY to STONEY! I assume the artwork was the engraver's responsibility.

The legend around reads: STONEY POINT EXPUGNATUM. The exergue reads, XV JUL. MDCCLXXIX. This means, Stony Point taken July 15, 1779. GATTEAUX, the engraver has inscribed his name again between the exergual lines (see page 31 for details on Gatteaux).

Types of Wayne Medals

Jefferson gave Wayne's proper gold medal to Washington in New York City in March 1790, as well as the Washington cased set, and the gold Washington before Boston medal. He also gave him the Stewart Stony Point medal and the three Cowpens medals, ready for Washington to give to each recipient. Wayne's gold medal passed eventually to the Pennsylvania Sons of Liberty.

A single bronze restrike in private hands from Paris sold at the 2019 Adams sale for \$84,000. Two silver and one other bronze original strike exist in museums. The Paris dies vanished.

The US Mint did not make gunmetal dies. In the 1842 Benjamin Franklin Peale got hold of the original gold medal then owned by A. R. Perkins and made some electrotypes to sell to collectors. The 2019 Adams sale had two of these that sold for \$1,920 and \$4,080.

In 1886 Charles Barber engraved copy dies. These show a space between XV and JUL, not present in the originals. The lettering is different. The inside of the Os are circular in the originals, and almost straight in the copies (see opposite). The Mint struck the first on in 1889. These sell for around \$4,000. The edges are plain. 13-30 exist.

Maj. John Stewart

John Stewart (1753-1783) came from Annapolis. His father, from a Baltimore merchant family in Maryland, owned a shipyard. John joined the Fifth Maryland Regulars in the Continental army as a first lieutenant in January 1776. In December 1776 he became Captain, and in April 1777 Major.



2395

BRIG. GEN. ANTHONY WAYNE STONY POINT BRONZE MEDAL 1779. J-MI-3; 52MM PCGS SP65

In August 1777 Maj. Gen Sullivan unsuccessfully raided British held Staten Island with 1,000 Continental regulars. During the raid, the British captured 150-260 Patriots, including Stewart. Stewart told his men, "If you can swim, swim to New Jersey while I surrender," a distance of 1/4 mile. It is not clear how he escaped.

While Lt. Col. de Fleury led the southern column into the Stony Point Fort, Maj. Stewart led the northern column of 100-150 men in July 1779. The Americans killed all the dogs in the neighborhood the day before, lest their barking at night alert the English of the assault. Armed with only bayonets they had to lead their men through musket fire and cannon discharging deadly grape shot, all in the inky darkness of night.

The army promoted him to Lt. Col. in February 1781. In May 1781, he assumed command of the First Maryland Regiment of the Continental Line in the Carolinas in the Southern Campaign. He retired to South Carolina. In March 1783 he rode back home after an "evening with the officers" given by Col. William Washington at his Sandy Hill Plantation 28 miles outside Charleston. William Washington was another Comitia Americana medal recipient. Stewart's horse fell, pitching him headfirst into a ditch. He dislocated his neck and died aged 29. They buried him in Charleston, South Carolina.

His membership in the Society of the Cincinnati passed to his younger brother, Stephen and his children, as John did not marry. Like so many Continental officers he went through several court martial proceedings, all dropped. It seems any leader who lost an engagement or battle could face such proceedings. Also, if there was any insolent remark this might lead to court martial proceedings. This seemed a way of resolving issues without dismissing officers or having duels.

As Franklin commented, the de Fleury medal cost 2,000 livres for the dies. He ground off the de Fleury and inserted Stewart and Wayne to make two "cheapo" medals in 1780. He may have had second thoughts, because he kept them until 1784, then gave them to Henry Laurens. Laurens was one of the American Treaty of Paris negotiators, who sailed to the US in August 1784 to give the medal to Congress. Whether the "cheapo" ever reached Stewart, we do not know.

Jefferson left England for America in October 1789 with the silver medal for Stewart aboard the *Clérmont*, arriving in the US. The ship once docked caught fire, but someone saved the medals. In March 1790 he took the medal (with others) to give to Washington in New York City. Washington then gave the medal to Stewart's family.

Stewart Stony Point Medal Description

The obverse shows Major John Stewart receiving a palm branch from the allegory of America. A palm branch symbolizes victory. America is bare breasted with a crown of feathers. She has a quiver of arrows over her right shoulder, and holds an oval shield with 13 vertical and many horizontal stripes. The 13 stripes symbolize the 13 original states. America again wears a dress made from tobacco leaves, and like Wayne's medal has very similar devices. Gatteaux presumably did not have much time to figure out devices, symbols and designs. He settled on a virtual mirror image of the Wayne medal. I love the chained alligator menacing America's foot!

The tethered alligator is an attribute of America. Above the exergual line on the left is GATTEAUX, the engraver. In the exergue is: COMITIA AMERICANA. The legend around follows: JOANNI STEWART COHORTIS PRAEFECTO (American Congress to John Stewart Commander of the Company).

The reverse shows Stewart brandishing a sword, followed by soldiers with mounted bayonets and a plethora of standards behind. The assault was at night under darkness and silence. Regimental standards (flags) would not have fit the bill! On the right, British troops surrender. Behind him two lines of single file troops climb up cliffs. In the distance nine ships sail on the Hudson River. On the exergual line again is GATTEAUX, the engraver. The legend around reads: STONEY POINT OPPUGNATUM, this continues in the exergue XV JUL. MDCCLXXIX (Stony Point assaulted 25 July 1779)

Types of Stewart Medals

Eleven years after Stony Point, Washington held Stewart's silver medal. Seven years too late! Stewart died in 1783. Washington wrote to his father Stephen, enclosing the medal. What became of it we do not know. Two silver originals, one bronze and one cliché exist in museums. One bronze original and three clichés are in private hands. An obverse cliché sold in the Adams 2019 sale for \$16,800. John Kraljevich points out the Stewart medal is 45 mm, and the de Fleury 46 mm, but Brig. Wayne's is 54 mm befitting a flag rank.

I was fortunate to attend the American Numismatic Association annual summer seminar in which Dr. David Menchell gave a superb seminar on medals. I had one of every other medal in the series, but for years could not get hold of a Stewart electrotype. When David showed his electrotypes, I asked him whether he would mind if I had Joe Paonessa make electrotypes of the electrotypes! To my amazement, he consented. Joe made copies for David and three each in copper and silver for me.

Fagaly and Lopez published a list of known Stewart medals in the MCA Advisory Volume 23, #4, in December 2019. They listed two silver and two bronze originals, four clichés and 10 electrotypes. I have an electrotype of an electrotype (11 are known of these). The original dies disappeared. The US Mint did not make gunmetal dies, or copy dies. Crude casts also exist. The 2019 Adams sale had only one Stewart — an obverse cliché. In his Nathanael Greene section John Kraljevich commented, "When copies are copied, originals are rare!"

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2765

MAJ. JOHN STEWART STONY POINT BRONZE ELECTROTYPE. 44.7MM, 52.64 GRAMS UNC



2762

MAJ. JOHN STEWART STONY POINT SILVER MEDAL ELECTROTYPE. 1779. 44.7MM, 45.01 GRAMS UNC

CHAPTER SEVEN

JEFFERSON'S COWPENS MEDALS: MORGAN, WASHINGTON & HOWARD

Jefferson departed Le Havre, France on the *Clérmont* September 28, 1789, stopping in England. The *Clérmont* continued to Norfolk, Virginia, in October, with his two daughters and mistress Sally Hemings. He arrived in Norfolk November 23, 1789. His trunk included 17 medals enumerated in the last chapter. These included three Cowpens medals: Brig. Daniel Morgan, Lt. Col. William Washington and Lt. Col. John Eager Howard.

When Jefferson arrived, he found for the first time that Washington had chosen him as Secretary of State. He reluctantly accepted the position on February 14, 1790. On February 23, his daughter Patsy married her second cousin, Thomas Mann Randolph, at Monticello. They lived in Edgehill, an estate just two miles from Monticello.

Battle of Cowpens

The battles of Lexington and Concord were fought in April 1775. The Battle of Bunker Hill followed in June 1775. In March 1776 came Dorchester Heights, then the Battle of Long Island and White Plains. The British northern plan was to control the Hudson River Valley to split New England from the rest of the colonies. British General Howe's bungle in not meeting up with Burgoyne in 1777 to defeat the Continental Army spelled the failure of the British Northern Plan.

After Saratoga the French (who for centuries did anything they could to annoy the English) had seen concrete proof that Continental forces could win. So, they came in on the American side in 1788. Continental forces also triumphed at Stony Point and Paulus Hook in 1779.

The British thought southerners were far more loyal. They thought they would have no difficulty in controlling the South. In 1780 they took Charleston, South Carolina as part of their Southern Plan.

Washington chose Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene as Southern Commander, initially with only 1,482 men. Daniel Morgan, whose 500 riflemen had helped win the day at Saratoga, was promoted to Brigadier and seconded to Greene in 1780. Cowpens took place in January 1781.

Morgan's riflemen were specially trained. Rifles took longer to load but were accurate up to 300 yards. Muskets were faster to load but only accurate to around 80 yards. Morgan had his riflemen act as snipers picking off British officers, something Washington disapproved of. But Washington also disapproved of the British using grapeshot. All is fair in love and war!

Lord Cornwallis thought (mistakenly) that Brig. Morgan would attack the British fort "Ninety-Six," in South Carolina, and ordered Tarleton there. Lt. Col. Banastre ("Bloody") Tarleton was a swashbuckling English cavalryman who had slaughtered Americans after they surrendered at the Battle of Waxhaws, North

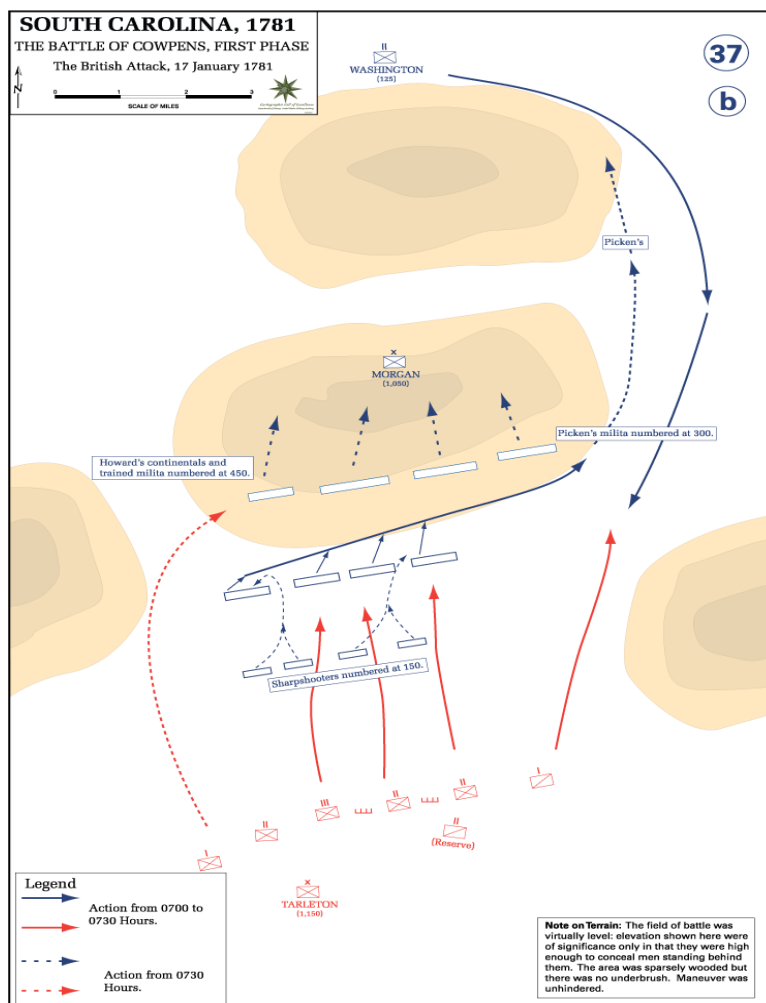
Carolina in May 1780. Americans used his depravity for propaganda with good effect.

Morgan was not at Fort "Ninety-Six". Tarleton pursued him anyway. Cowpens was a crossroads where farmers brought their herds for branding and grazing in South Carolina. There, Morgan decided to confront Tarleton. He had about 1,900 men; Tarleton had about 1,100.

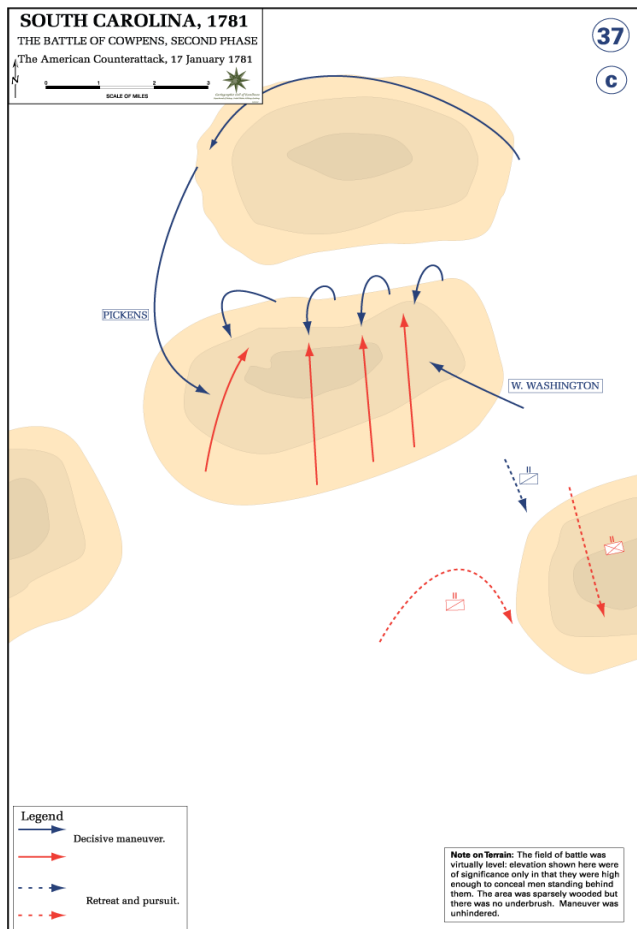
A brilliant military tactician, Morgan decided on a double envelopment strategy. He established no escape route for his men. He exposed his flanks openly, knowing Tarleton would only attack head on.

Morgan formed three lines. Knowing novice militia were green, he told everyone they would fire twice, then reform behind his second, then third line (commanded by Lt. Col. John Howard). A ravine and creek were on each flank. Small hills hid Morgan's lines and cavalry.

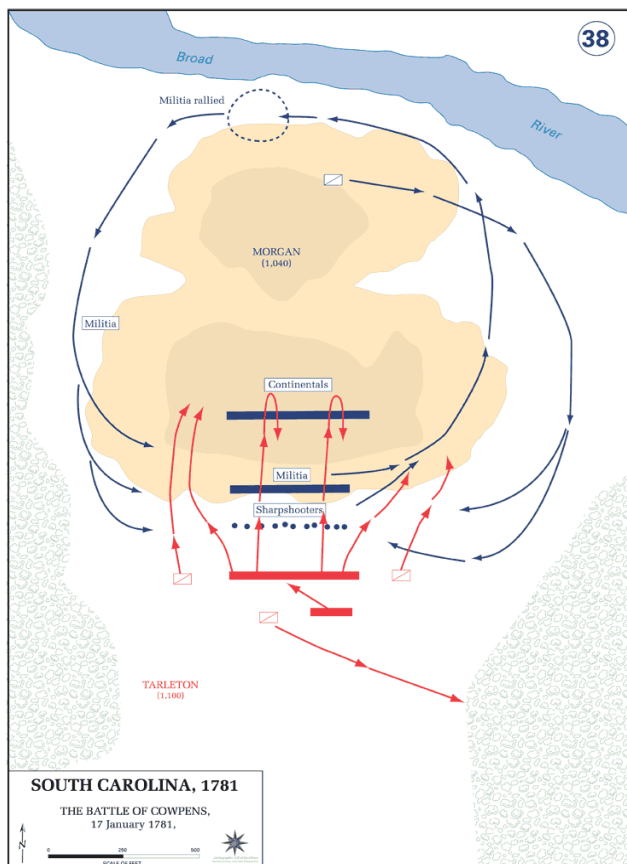
Hannibal with only 50,000 men defeated a superior force of 87,000 Romans at Cannae in 216 BCE using the double envelopment or pincer strategy. He lost only 5,700 men to Rome's 76,000 men.



First part of Cowpens Tarleton bottom, Morgan middle. Note three lines of American troops.



Cowpens second phase, Howard's attack.



Washington encircles British right flank, Howard attacks left flank. Morgan (blue) in front of British (red).

Morgan wanted to duplicate Hannibal's strategy. He knew Tarleton had marched his troops with inadequate food and sleep, exhausting them. Tarleton saw a lengthy line of riflemen when he arrived (characteristic of eighteenth century combat). When he attacked, the crack riflemen inflicted heavy casualties particularly on British officers (as ordered). Tarleton blindly surged ahead uphill. Morgan had told his lines to fire twice, then retire. The second two lines hid behind terrain. The second line of muskets then fired twice, luring Tarleton in, then fell back.

At the third line Lt. Col. John Howard, the infantry commander, ordered his Virginian militiamen to turn to face the enemy. But his men misunderstood his order and withdrew. Howard galloped to his troops and ordered a stop to the retreat. They about-faced, firing a devastating volley into the British only 30 yards away. Howard then shouted: "charge bayonets". The mistake lured Tarleton in even more.

Lt. Col. William Washington's 130 cavalry hit the British right flank and rear. Patriot guerrilla Col. Andrew Pickens's militia reformed from behind and hit the British left flank and rear. Half of the British fell, caught in a double envelopment, duplicating Hannibal's 216 BCE feat of completely surrounding the enemy cutting off any retreat. Morgan took 712 prisoners and killed 110 British in action. 80% of the British force had been killed or taken. Tarleton had been too obsessed with victory.

Lt. Col. William Washington caught the British leader Tarleton fleeing the battlefield with two other officers. Washington engaged them, but Tarleton shot Washington's horse with a pistol, grazing his knee. Washington got another horse and pursued him for 16 miles then gave up.

The American victory at Cowpens changed the whole psychology of the Revolutionary War. Two months later in March 1781, Lord Cornwallis fought Maj. Gen. Greene at Guildford Court House, winning a pyrrhic victory. Greene lost 300 killed or wounded of his 4,500 army (7%). Cornwallis lost 500 killed or wounded of his 2,100 army (24%). He retreated to Yorktown, where Washington defeated him in October.

Brig. Daniel Morgan

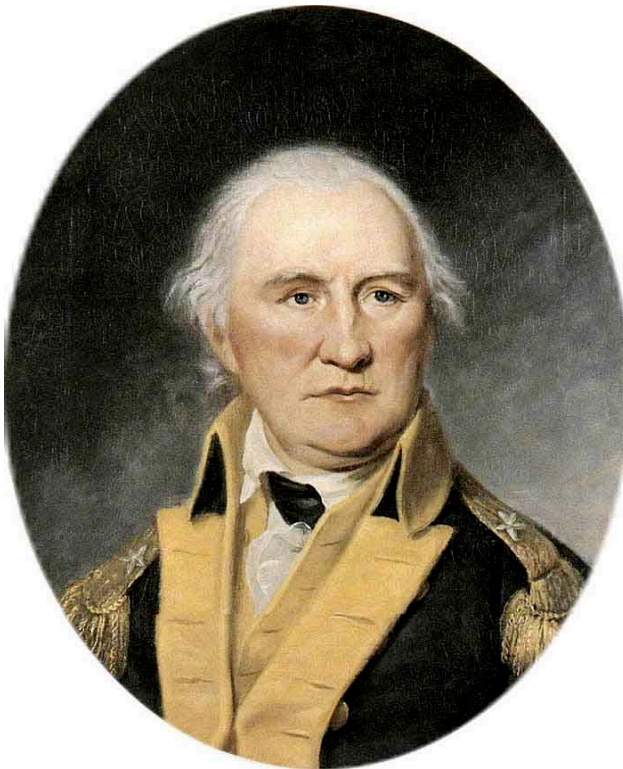
Born in New Jersey, Daniel Morgan (1736-1802) was the fifth of seven children. He left home aged 17 after a fight with his penniless Welsh father. He moved to the beautiful Shenandoah Valley in Western Virginia where his famous frontiersman cousin, Daniel Boone, lived. Morgan worked as a teamster. Soon he saved enough to buy his own team, then expanded into an extensive teamster business.

During the French and Indian War (1754-1763), Morgan and Boone worked for the British. Frontiersmen like these and George Washington were invaluable for traveling and dealing with Indians. During the retreat from Fort Duquesne in 1758, Morgan assaulted a British officer, and was punished with 500 lashes — usually fatal. Not unexpectedly, this turned Morgan against the British.

A skilled rifleman, he helped to defend colonists against French-backed Indian raids. He met Abigail Curry, who taught him how to read and write. After the French and Indian War in 1763, he bought a farm in Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley. He became cultivated and prosperous.



Burgoyne left, Gates middle, Morgan right in White
Taken from Gen. Burgoyne surrender by John Turnbull.



Brig. Daniel Morgan by Charles Willson Peale 1794.

After Lexington and Concord in April 1775, Congress called for ten rifle companies. Virginia sent two under Morgan. Calibers of the rifles varied, necessitating different bore ammunition. Morgan took part in Maj. Gen. Montgomery's failed bid to take Quebec from the British.

There Morgan surrendered to the British with 371 others in December 1775. The British held him as a prisoner of war until a prisoner exchange in January 1777. He then returned as a colonel because of his bravery at Quebec.

With 500 men in his Provisional Rifle Corps, he harassed British Gen. Howe in June 1777 as he traveled to Philadelphia. Morgan then joined Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates in upstate New York in August 1777, helping to defeat Burgoyne at Saratoga in October. How accurate John Turnbull's picture of him is, I do not know (left). He looks a lot older than 39 in the painting. The usual Charles Willson Peale

painting (below left) makes him look in his 60s!

Politically inactive, Congress passed him over for promotion. Sciatica bothered him ever since his Quebec expedition. He resigned in June 1779.

Three months later Washington promoted him to Brig. Gen. as second in command to Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene in the southern campaign.

Morgan's brilliantly executed battle plan at Cowpens took full advantage of his knowledge of Tarleton's persona — disdain of American provincial militia, and frontal assaults by cavalry. In addition, Morgan had his riflemen, and chose the battle scene with rising ground to make the English charge uphill, hiding his lines and cavalry.

In less than an hour 940 of Tarleton's 1,076 men were killed or captured. Tarleton got away, but left all his supplies, equipment, and officer's slaves. Morgan lost only 12 killed and 60 wounded. Experts consider his plan the tactical masterpiece of the Revolutionary War. But his sciatica grew worse, and he retired that year to an estate granted him by Virginia.

He settled in Winchester, Virginia, and bought up 250,000 acres of land. He used Hessian prisoners of war to build his home, which he named Saratoga (see next page).

Washington recalled him in 1794 as a Major General under Gen. Light Horse Harry Lee to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion. Morgan became Congressman for Virginia in 1796. He died on his 66th birthday while visiting his daughter. In 1821 Virginia named a new county after him, now called the state of West Virginia.



Morgan's home "Saratoga" in West Virginia.

Morgan Cowpens Medal Description

In January 1789 Jefferson contracted with Dupré to engrave and strike the Morgan medal before April 15. He made several drawings, which Adams and Bentley show.

The obverse (opposite) shows Morgan leading infantry, with colors flying. The British retreat on the left. An interesting touch is an Indian with a sword unhorsing a British officer. The legend reads: VICTORIA LIBERTATIS VINDEXT. Nothing to do with Victoria cleaning windows! It means, Victory, the protector of freedom. In the exergue is FVGATIS CAPTIS AVT CAESIS AD COWPENS HOSTIBVS. XVII. JAN. MDCCLXXXI. It means, the enemy put to flight, taken or slain at Cowpens, January 17, 1781. Beneath this is DUPRE INV. ET F. meaning contrived and made by Dupré. Dupré intended this battle scene to be the obverse, differing from other CA medals. The edge is plain.

The reverse shows America, as an Indian Princess crowning Brig. Morgan with a laurel wreath for victory. Dupré was likely unaware of Morgan's sciatica, but it certainly looks like he is having trouble bending forwards to receive his crown! In the background is a trophy of arms and flags. There are trees on the right and open field in the foreground.

The exergue inscription reads COMITIA AMERICANA, which continues as the legend around, reading: DANIELI MORGAN DUCI EXERCITUS, meaning The American Congress to General Daniel Morgan. Below in the exergue in script is Dupré f for Dupré made it.

Types of Morgan Medals

Congress asked Humphreys in 1785 to arrange the three Cowpens medals. Congress even stipulated the exact wording. But the French Académie said, "Get lost!" Humphreys shelved the Cowpens medals. Jefferson took over in May 1786 and shelved them until 1789.

Adams and Bentley give a census of original medals:

- 1 gold
- 3 silver. Adams' specimen sold in 2019 for \$114,000.
- 7 bronze. Adams had two choice AU specimens which sold in 2019 for \$55,200 and \$78,000.

Originals show a large obverse blob die break in the exergue below the M of the date. The original Paris dies vanished.

Washington sent Morgan his gold medal in 1790, which passed to his family. Morgan had two daughters. When he died in 1802, the medal passed to his oldest male heir, grandson (later Maj.) Morgan Neville, aged 19. Neville grew up in Pittsburgh and became the cashier of the Pittsburgh Farmers and Mechanics Bank.

He stored his belongings in the bank. In April 1818 two gamblers named Joseph Pluymart and Herman Emmons stole the medals including the Morgan gold medal, \$3,000 of specie and \$100,000 of notes from the bank. Neville was also half-owner of the Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette, who reported the theft.

Police arrested the thieves in Ohio. Emmons told of a pile of soggy banknotes 37 miles from Pittsburgh. Pluymart escaped. Police later apprehended him near the Canadian border carrying \$5,000 in gold and banknotes.

Neville wrote to Thomas Jefferson in 1819 asking that a new gold medal be struck at his expense. Jefferson replied that Mr. Grand, the US banker in Paris, had kept the dies, which he directed to the Treasury office. The dies never turned up. Further requests followed their byzantine course through Congress until 1836.

In July 1836 Congress finally passed an act authorizing a gold restrike to present to Maj. Morgan Neville, Morgan's grandson. But the US Mint could not find any dies!

Daniel Webster then owned Washington's silver set, and generously lent the silver Morgan medal to Lewis Cass, American Minister to France in October 1838. In 1839 Cass engaged Jean Jacques Barre to engrave copy dies for 3,500 francs or about \$700, about three year's wages for a US laborer.

Barre finished the dies in August 1839. He struck a few bronze medals from them in Paris, then shipped the hardened dies and the silver medal back. The US Mint received the dies in November 1839. In December they struck a gold medal containing 4.79 ounces of gold. But Neville had died in March 1839!

Joel Poinsett had taken over from Lewis Cass as Secretary of War in 1837, when Cass became French Ambassador. Poinsettias are named after Poinsett. He cultivated the plant while Ambassador to Mexico around 1829. Neither Poinsett nor his successor, John Bell, would send the gold medal to Neville's heir for unknown reasons. John Spencer took over as Secretary of War in October 1841 and sent the medal to Neville's son Jesse.

In 1885 Jesse put the medal on display at a jewelry store in Saratoga, New York. Jesse died in Santa Monica, California, in 1914. No one has seen the medal since.

But the US Mint now owned Paris' Barre dies from which they could make new medals. The Mint recorded 96 bronze and two silver medals struck from the dies between 1855 and 1904.

The 2019 Adams sale sold Barre medals for \$1,620 for an Unc to \$2,800 for a choice UNC. Adams and Bentley opine that Dupré's best medal was his Libertas Americana with his Morgan a close second. Barre dies do not have the die cud beneath the obverse exergue. The US Mint did not make gun metal dies, other copy dies or electrotypes.



2074

BRIG. GEN. DANIEL MORGAN COWPENS BRONZE MEDAL 1781. BARRÉ COPY DIES 1839. J-MI-7; 56MM MS 65



William Washington by Rembrandt Peale ca. 1795

Lt. Col William Washington

Washington (1752-1810) was the second son of a Virginia planter, and a second cousin to George Washington. A clergyman tutored him at home. He learned Greek and planned on becoming a clergyman. When the Revolution started, Washington allegedly drew straws with his brother to see who would join the Continental army and who would stay at home and look after the farm. William ended up leaving home.

Elected Captain in September 1775, he commanded a Company in the 7th Virginia Regiment. His second in command was James Monroe, future US President. He took part in the Battle of Harlem Heights in September 1776, and the Battle of Trenton in December 1776.

In January 1777 he was promoted to Major and joined the 4th Continental Light Dragoons (cavalry). In November 1778 the army gave him command of the 3rd Light Dragoons as a Lt. Col. In November 1779 the army transferred him to Charleston, South Carolina under Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln.

After intermittent fighting with Tarleton, Washington's dragoons incurred significant losses. In May 1780 Washington assumed command of the 1st and 3rd Dragoons going to North Carolina after Maj. Gen. Lincoln surrendered Charleston to the British.



Lt. Col. Washington on white horse at Cowpens by William Ranney in 1845.



William Washington at Cowpens by S.H. Gimber

Washington at Cowpens

Gates took over the Southern army. When he lost to the British at the Battle of Camden in August 1780, Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene replaced him. Greene divided his army into two units, one under his command, the second under Brig. Morgan. Washington worked for Morgan in a series of skirmishes in the South until Cowpens in January 1781.

Washington commanded 80 Continental dragoons and 45 Georgia horsemen at Cowpens. Morgan said, "(When informed the British were) cutting down our riflemen on the left, (he) pushed forward and charged them with such firmness, that... they broke and fled."

Washington advanced so far into the enemy lines that he found himself surrounded by British horsemen. Washington called out, "Where is now the boasting Tarleton?" A British subaltern, Thomas Patterson, rode up to attack Washington and was shot by Washington's orderly Trumpeter (see picture opposite).

After the battle was over, Washington pursued Tarleton. Tarleton and two companions attacked him. In the engagement Washington injured Tarleton's right hand with a saber blow. Tarleton shot Washington, narrowly missing his knee but wounding his horse. Washington got another horse and chased him for 16 miles then gave up.

Lord Cornwallis later commented, "There could be no more formidable antagonist in a charge, at the head of his cavalry, than Colonel William Washington."

Washington charged the British during the Battle of Eutaw Springs in September 1781. They shot his horse out from under him, and he became pinned down by his horse. The British bayoneted him and took him prisoner for the rest of the war.

In 1782 he married Jane Elliott of Sandy Hill, South Carolina, settling down on her plantation, where they farmed and bred horses.

In March 1783 he entertained Lt. Col. John Stewart, another Comitia Americana medal recipient, at his estate at Sandy Hill, 28 miles outside Charleston. When Stewart rode back home after an "evening with the officers" his horse fell, pitching him head first into a ditch. He dislocated his neck and died aged 29. They buried Stewart in Charleston, South Carolina.

Carolínians elected Washington to the State Legislature 1787-1804. From 1798 to 1800 George Washington appointed him Brigadier in the US Army during a naval war with France. William Washington died in 1810 aged 58. He died from "a lingering illness."

Jefferson landed in Norfolk, Virginia, in November 1789, with 17 medals, which he took to Washington in New York City in March 1790. George Washington sent William Washington his silver medal, with his usual brief letter.



1708

LT. COL. WILLIAM WASHINGTON COWPENS BRONZE MEDAL 1781. BETTS 594; 46.2MM, 56.13 GRAMS MS 63

William Washington Medal Description

The obverse shows William Washington leading the cavalry against fleeing British cavalry. Nike flies above him with a laurel wreath to crown him victor. She has a palm branch in her left hand, a symbol of victory and triumph.

Above the exergue line on the right is DUV for Duvivier, the engraver, who did both Washington's and Howard's Cowpens medals. The exergue inscription reads: COMITIA AMERICAN, and continues as the legend around the medal: GULIELMO WASHINGTON LEGIONIS EQUIT. PRAEFECTO. Translated this means: The American Congress to William Washington, Colonel of Cavalry.

The reverse shows a seven-line inscription within a laurel wreath. Victors receive laurel wreaths. The inscription reads: QUOD | PARVA MILITUM MANU | STRENUE PROSECUTUS HOSTES | VIRTUTIS INGENITAE | PRAECLARUM SPECIMEN DEDIT | IN PUGNA AD COWPENS | XVII. JAN. MDCCLXXXI. This means, "Because, in vigorously pursuing the enemy with a handful of soldiers, he gave a noble example of innate courage at the Battle of Cowpens, January 17, 1781." This inscription came from the Académie, no doubt after months of linguistic wrangling! American Congress requested: "In honor of the gallant behavior of Lt. Col. William Washington in the Action of 17th January 1781". Which version do you like better?

The edge shows a pointing hand and CUIVRE at 6.30, making this an 1845-1860 Paris restrike from the original dies (Adams and Bentley die state 2).

Types of William Washington Medals

Jefferson asked Duvivier to engrave the dies of Washington before Boston, William Washington and John Howard all together in 1789. Duvivier worried more about the Washington before Boston medal, giving short shrift to William Washington's and Howard's medals. He ran out of room leaving the A off the end of AMERICANA on the Washington die and aligned the reverse lettering poorly. On Howard's medal he misspelled EAGER as EGAR (see overleaf).

The dies stayed in Paris. Originals show no edge markings. Adams and Bentley list four silver and 36 bronze originals, all struck before 1830. The bronze originals in the 2019 Adams sale went for \$2,280 to \$3,600 in AU to Choice Mint State. The dies show rust spots below MO W on the obverse, and each side of the upper ribbon on the reverse. Paris originals measure 45.3-46.5 mm.

The US Mint director, James Pollock, ordered 20 bronze restrikes from Paris, which he received in 1862. By 1863 he had sold them all, and that year Engraver James B. Longacre prepared a set of gunmetal dies. The US Mint made 77 gunmetal restrikes, usually measuring 45.1 mm. The 2019 Adams collection gunmetal strikes sold for \$384-\$840 in Mint to Gem Mint State.

In 1888 the US Mint made copy dies which show regular aligned letter placement on the reverse, but still omitted the last A of AMERICANA in the obverse exergue. One sold for \$480 in the 2019 Adams sale, also 45.1 mm. Copy die strikes are quite rare today.



Lt. Col. John Eager Howard by Charles Willson Peale

Lt. Col. John Eager Howard

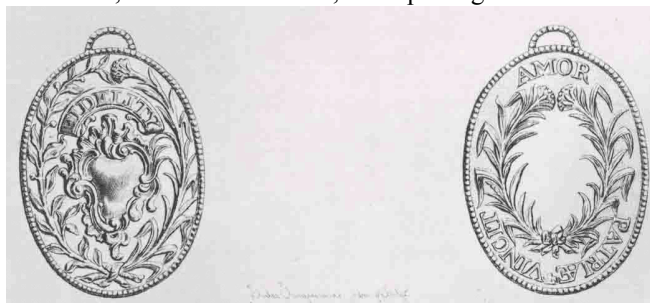
Born to a third generation of elite English planters in Maryland, John (1752-1827) joined the Continental army in 1775 as a Captain. He fought in the Battle of White Plains in October 1776.

In October 1777, (then a Major) Howard had fought the British at Benjamin Chew's estate, featured on the British Germantown medal (below).



Germantown 1777 medal #2608

British Major Andre, who had carried Benedict Arnold's maps of West Point and was hung by the Americans, had courted Chew's daughter "Peggy". In 1780 Congress awarded a fidelity medallion each to John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, for capturing John Andre:



Fidelity Medallion drawing from J. F. Loubat



1623

LT. COL. JOHN EAGER HOWARD COWPENS BRONZE MEDAL, PARIS RESTRIKE 1845-1860. BETTS-595; 46.4MM NGC MS 65

Howard saw action in the Battle of Monmouth Courthouse in June 1778, which America narrowly won. But the action led to the court martial of Maj. Gen. Lee, Washington's second-in-command, who wanted Washington's command.

At Cowpens, Lt. Col. Howard commanded the 2nd Maryland Infantry Regiment. The first line of Morgan's riflemen fired two shots and fell back. The second line of Morgan's infantry fired two shots and fell back.

As they lured in Tarleton to the third line, Lt Col. John Howard, ordered his Virginian militiamen to turn to face the enemy. But his men misunderstood his order and withdrew. Howard galloped to his troops and told them to about face. They fired a devastating volley into the British only 30 yards away. Howard shouted, "Charge bayonets," and the English fled in panic. The mistake lured in Tarleton even more.

In September 1781 at Eutaw Springs, Lt. Col. John Howard received severe bullet wounds to his shoulder. This ended his military career and caused chronic pain for the rest of his life. Maj. Light Horse Harry Lee said he "justly ranked among the chosen sons of the South." Maj. Gen. Greene said, "Col. Howard is as good an officer as the world afforded, and deserves a statue of gold, no less than the Roman or Grecian heroes." For his bravery, Congress awarded him a silver medal brought over by Jefferson in 1789.

Howard married Peggy Chew, daughter of Chief Justice Chew, an old British Loyalist, in 1787. Howard became Delegate to the Continental Congress in 1788, and Governor of Maryland 1788-1791. In 1795 Washington asked him to become Secretary of War, but he begged off saying his old war injury demanded daily exercise. He became a US Senator 1796-1803, and VP Federalist candidate in 1816. Much of Baltimore is land that once belonged to Howard. He died in 1827 aged 75.

An equestrian statue of Howard sits in Washington Square, Baltimore, next to the Washington Monument. In March 1790, after receiving the medal from Jefferson, Washington sent Howard his silver medal with a letter. Howard's family donated the original silver medal to the Maryland Historical Society in 1959.

Medal expert Kraljevich in 2005 examined it and labeled it a "competent cast". However, another group from Medal Collectors of America saw the Howard silver medal and declared it to be original. Washington's letter is very similar for all recipients:

Sir,

You will receive with this a Medal struck by order of the late Congress in commemoration of your much approved conduct in the battle of..... — and presented to you as a mark of the high sense which your Country entertains of your services on that occasion.

This Medal was put into my hands by Mr Jefferson; and it is with singular pleasure that I now transmit it to you.

*I am, with very great esteem,
Your Excellency's most Obedt Servt
Go: Washington*

Howard Cowpens Medal Description

Jefferson asked Duvivier to engrave the dies of the Washington before Boston, William Washington and John Howard all together in 1789. Duvivier worried more about the Washington before Boston medal, giving less attention to the Howard and William Washington medals. Both only received lettered reverses. Duvivier misspelled Howard's middle name as Egarr, not Eagar.

No one knows whether Duvivier did the Howard before or after the William Washington, but he subjugated both to the Washington before Boston. Looking at the designs, Duvivier could well have done the more complex William Washington obverse first, then taken just a few design elements to create the Howard second. A simple lettered reverse using the same wreath for both saved him time.

The obverse opposite shows Lt. Col. Howard on horse-back brandishing a sword. Nike hovers over him with her laurel wreath to crown him victor. He chases a soldier carrying regimental colors (Adams and Bentley say this presumably represented the flag of the 7th British Foot, which they delivered to Congress).

I do not know whether Duvivier was aware of this detail. Many of these medals show considerable artistic license. Instead he may have created a generic scene given his preoccupation with the Washington before Boston medal. Perhaps the fleeing soldier dropped the sword and tricorn hat on the ground!

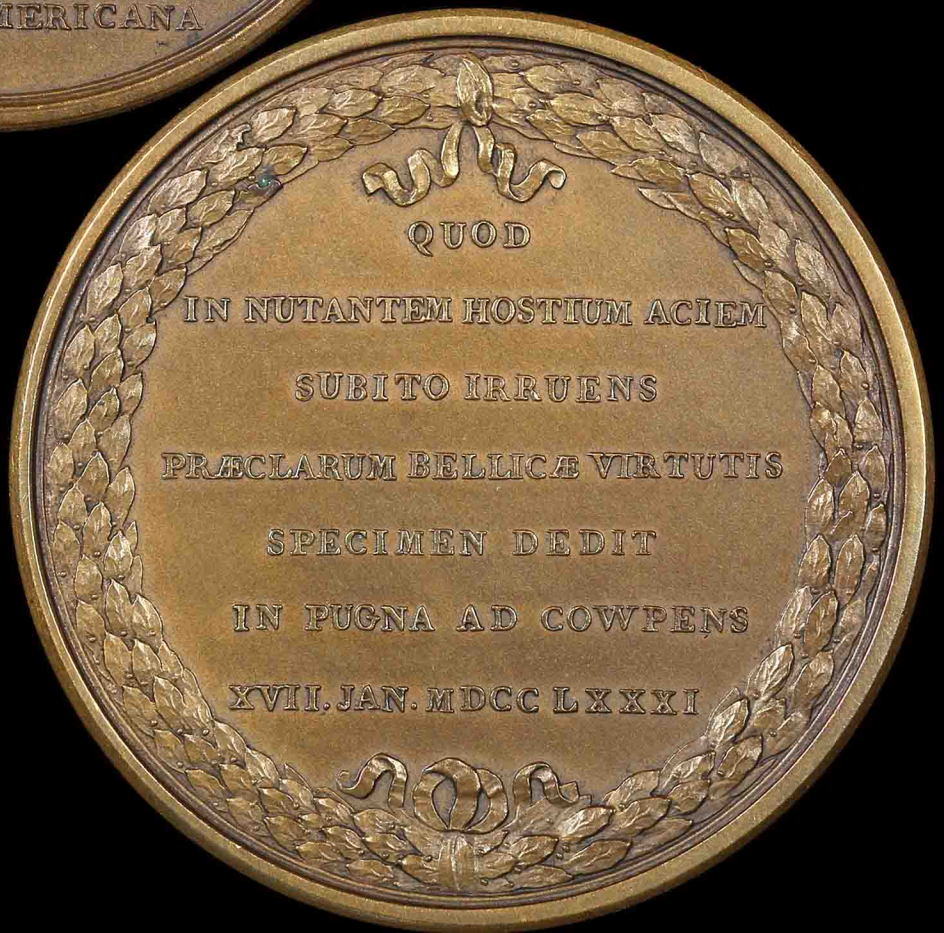
Above the exergue line on the left is DUVIV for the engraver Duvivier. In the exergue is COMITIA AMERICANA, the legend continues: JOH EGARR HOWARD LEGIONIS PEDITUM PRAEFECTO. This means: American Congress to John Egarr Howard, commander of a regiment of foot.

The reverse shows a seven-line inscription surrounded by a laurel wreath for victory, tied with a ribbon at top and bottom. The inscription reads: QUOD | IN NUTANTEM HOSTIUM ACIEM | SUBITO IRRUENS | PRAECLARUM BELLICAE VIRTUTIS | SPECIMEN DEDIT | IN PUGNA AD COWPENS | XVII. JAN. MDCCCLXXXI. This means: By suddenly charging the wavering line of the enemy, he provided an example of conspicuous military bravery at Cowpens, Jan. 17, 1781.

This was the work of the Académie. They would have taken their work very seriously, and as with the William Washington medal presumably cogitated over the best Latin. They replaced Congress's original verbal diarrhea:

"the charge ordered and conducted by him in that critical moment when the enemy were thrown into disorder by the fire from the line under his Command, and the latter instantly charging, victory hovering over both Armies and dropping a branch of laurel to be instantly snatched by Lt. Colonel Howard with this Motto — occasione oerupta."

Really? I prefer the Académie's inscription! The medal opposite is an 1845-1860 Paris restrike.



2160

LT. COL. JOHN HOWARD COWPENS BRONZE MEDAL. PARIS SANDBLAST PROOF STRIKE 20TH CENTURY. UNC

Types of Howard Cowpens Medals

Adams and Bentley list six original silver strikes, and 26 original bronze strikes in two die states. State 1 dies show rust above the head of Victory and below the PR of PRAECLARUM on the reverse, measuring 46.0-46.4 mm. Three uncirculated original medals from the 2019 Adams sale sold for \$1,920 to \$5,040 for Mint to Choice Mint State.

In die state 1, the knuckle does not touch the inner rim, as seen on the right. The die state 1 medals measure 46.0-46.4 mm. Paris medals typically do not come that way but like the color opposite. Why the medal on page 62 is such a gorgeous color I have no explanation, unless someone patinated it in the US Mint. The medal opposite is a die state 1, 1900s Paris strike. You can see the slightly grainy fields suggestion sandblasting.

Die state 2 has a contracted rim which touches the index knuckle of the fleeing soldier on the right. The rim also touches the last A of AMERICANA. Die state 2 medals are smaller at 45.0-45.4 mm.

Original medals came as die state 1 and 2.

After 1830, Paris restrikes reverted to die state 1. These have an edge marking of CUIVRE, usually at 6 o'clock with other devices to date the strike (listed on page 25).

Like the William Washington medal, the US Mint saw increased demand for the medals in the 1860s. Mint Director Pollock ordered 20 bronze restrikes from Paris, which arrived in March 1862 (these would have CUIVRE and a bee on the edge). These lasted until 1868, when James B. Longacre prepared gunmetal dies from a die state 2 medal. Three gunmetal strikes in the 2019 Adams sale sold for \$312 to \$1,080 for AU to Choice Mint State. Gunmetal strikes show the soldier's index finger touching the rim so were taken from a reduced diameter die state 2.

After 36 strikes, the reverse die failed. The Mint replaced it with a copy die in June 1879. The obverse then failed. The Mint replaced that in 1881. The 1881 obverse Mint copy die has REPRODUCTION 1881 in the exergue. A Gem Mint State 1881 copy die medal sold in the 2019 Adams sale for \$1,020.

The medal on the previous page is a Paris restrike done 1845 to 1860 and is die state 1 i.e. 46 mm or more with the fleeing soldier's index knuckle not touching the rim.

The medal opposite is a Paris 1900s die state 1, sandblast proof restrike, done by polishing then sandblasting the dies.

Thus the sequence was:

- **Originals** 6 silver 26 copper Die state 1 or 2.
- **Early Paris restrikes** Die State 1 or 2.
- **After 1830 Paris restrikes** Die State 1, 46.0-46.4 mm (fleeing soldier's knuckle apart from rim)
- **1868 Gunmetal dies, die state 2** 45.0-45.4 mm, 36 struck (fleeing soldier's knuckle touches rim)
- **1879 Obverse gunmetal, Reverse copy die, die state 2** (fleeing soldier's knuckle touches rim)
- **1881 Obverse copy die state 2** (fleeing soldier's knuckle touches rim), **reverse copy die with REPRODUCTION 1881 in exergue.**



Die state 1, knuckle & A of AMERICANA apart from rim.



Die state 2, knuckle & A of AMERICANA touches rim.
Courtesy Heritage Auctions, HA.com

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CHAPTER EIGHT

WILLIAM SHORT AND THE JOHN PAUL JONES MEDAL



John Paul Jones by Charles Willson Peale in 1781

John Paul Jones

John Paul Jones' (1747-1792) original name was John Paul. He added the Jones later, to hide from the law. His father, a Scottish gardener, raised him in southwest Scotland on the Atlantic coast, adjacent to Northern Ireland:

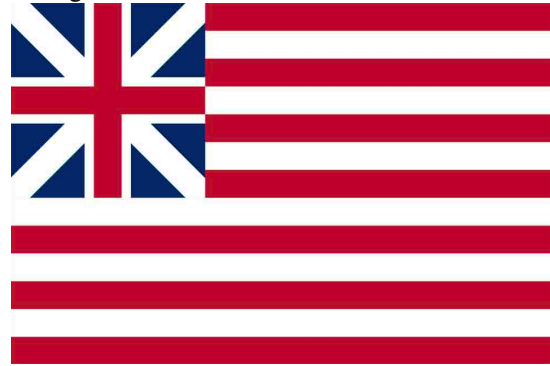


In 1760, aged 12, John sailed as a cabin boy to visit his brother who had settled in Virginia. Aged 19 he sailed several merchant and slave ships rising to first mate of a Jamaica owned slave ship. In 1768 aboard the brig *John*, the captain and ranking mate died from yellow fever. John managed to navigate the ship back to port. The ship's Scottish owners made him master of the ship.

During the second voyage in 1770, John had one of his crew flogged for mutiny. The sailor died a few weeks later. John's reputation sank and authorities imprisoned him. But the sailor who died was an adventurer from a very influential Scottish family. He likely died from yellow fever not the flogging. Nevertheless the local governor suggested John change his name and leave the area.

In 1772 John bought a London-registered West Indies vessel named *Betsy*. The ship had 22 guns. John again killed a mutinous sailor. Knowing the sailor had connections with the English Admiral's Court, he decided to abscond to Virginia where he took over the house of his brother who had just died. There John changed his name to Jones to avoid trouble with British authorities.

In 1775 John volunteered with the new Continental Navy. Richard Henry Lee, a founding father from Virginia, had heard of his expertise and vouched for him. Congress appointed him First Lieutenant of a newly converted 24-gun frigate *Alfred* in December 1775. The ship sported the very first Grand Union flag, considered the first national flag of America:



Congress ordered 13 frigates for the new navy. John accepted a lesser command of a sloop *USS Providence*, in return for later command of one of the new Continental Navy frigates. In 1776 John moved troops around, sent in eight prizes, and sank eight more.

In Boston in December 1776 John feuded with Commodore Hopkins, so was transferred to a smaller, newly built command *USS Ranger* in June 1777. In November 1777 he was told to sail to France to help the American cause. He took several prizes in the Irish sea. In France, he befriended Benjamin Franklin.

John then harassed shipping and ports in southwest Scotland in April 1778. He captured the British ship *Drake* after an hour-long gun battle and took it over.

In 1779 the French shipping magnate, Jacques Donatien Le Ray, rebuilt a merchant ship as a 42-gun warship *USS Bonhomme Richard*. The name was a play on their favorite American, Benjamin Franklin, who had written *Poor Richard's Almanac*, a wildly popular annual almanac from 1732 to 1758. *Bonhomme Richard* meant "Good Mr. Richard."

John accepted Le Ray's kind gift. In August 1779 he took it clockwise around England, ending up in the North Sea taking several merchant vessels. As Jones sailed south off the East coast of England, he met the 50-gun frigate *HMS Serapis*, protecting a merchant convoy of 41 ships.

The Battle of Flamborough Head began in September 1779. Cannon fire set the *Bonhomme Richard* ablaze and she started sinking. He locked with *HMS Serapis*, a new British warship, grappling and boarding her. They named *Serapis* after a Greco-Egyptian sun god.

John's crew threw grenades from the rigging into the hold of the *Serapis*. The British Captain Richard Pearson demanded surrender. John shouted back, "I have not yet begun to fight". He boarded and took over *HMS Serapis*, and sailed it, with the captured *Countess of Scarborough* to Texel Island in neutral Holland. He had the backup of Captain Pierre Landais of the *Alliance*, a 36-gun warship. But John complained of Landais' conduct, pushing for a court martial.

News that he defeated an English ship in English waters swept across Europe, gaining him notoriety.

France decorated him with Chevalier (equivalent to a knighthood). Though he was courageous and strong willed, he lacked people skills, and often ended up in brawls. He was an unpleasant personality. His seizure of *HMS Serapis* was masterful, but he was basically just a good pirate. His pluck and exploits gained a certain traction. As John Kraljevich said: "It's sort of a miracle Congress ever voted him a medal, even almost a decade (eight years) after his most famous maritime escapade."

After Congress voted him a gold medal, Jones sent Jefferson extracts from his diary in September 1788 to help the Académie to write inscriptions. It is difficult today to see why the Académie placed so much emphasis on the inscriptions, before the engraver could even start. Today we are more visually driven. The design, not the Latin inscriptions, catch our eye, but in those days Latin inscriptions eclipsed the visual.

If you were one of the few dozen elected to the Académie, you would secure your sinecure; and carefully exercise all of your rights! You could spend all the time you wanted before allowing the engraver to start. After all, you were the men of letters, not just an artisan! Even then the French had reputation for bureaucracy!

Despite Jones' expertise at piracy, most people disliked him — he asked Jefferson for four gold medals in 1788! Normally, only admirals got gold medals! Jones wrote:

I shall want four Gold Medals as soon as the Dies are finished. I must present one to the United States, another to the King of France, and I cannot do less than offer one to the Empress (of Russia). As you will keep the Dies for me, it is my intention to have some more Gold Medals stuck, therefore I beg you, in the mean time not to permit the striking of a single Silver or Copper Medal.

Surely the writings of a narcissistic egotist! Jefferson simply replied: my instructions are one gold (or silver) for the recipient, one silver to each European sovereign (except Britain), one copper to each European University, 200 for Congress, and one each to Lafayette, Rochambeau, d'Estaing and de Grasse.

Before 1789 Jean Antoine Houdon completed a bust of John Paul Jones, which may have helped Dupré. Jefferson contracted with Dupré for the Jones and Morgan medals in February 1789. Though Dupré finished the Morgan, he did not finish the Jones in time for Jefferson's sailing on the *Clérmont* in September. In Jefferson's place I would not have pushed for the conceited snot's medal either!



Serapis and Bonhomme Richard Sept. 1779.
Engraved R. Whitechurch.

William Short

Enter William Short! Jefferson called William Short (1759-1849) his adoptive son. William served him as a secretary, worked as a career diplomat, then became a successful financier, eventually becoming a millionaire. Short studied law under George Wythe, the first professor of law in America, at the College of William and Mary. Jefferson had also studied under Wythe. Short was the nephew of Henry and Robert Skipwith, who each married Martha Jefferson's two half-sisters.



William Short aged 47 by Rembrandt Peale 1806.

Jefferson used Short to settle his wife Martha's estate after her father died. He then had him come to Paris in November 1784 as his private secretary. They lived together at the Hotels de Landron and Langeac. He noticed Jefferson struggled with French, so lived with a French family in the Paris suburbs for a few months to gain fluency in French to help him. Jefferson had Congress approve Short's appointment.

Congress appointed Short chargé d'affaires just before Jefferson left France in September 1789. Short's appointment lasted until 1792, making him effectively US Minister for three years. He represented America at Louis XVI's court and helped to borrow money to refinance America's foreign debt.

Short became smitten with the Duchesse Rosalie de La Rochefoucauld. Her elderly husband died during the Reign of Terror. Congress appointed Short Minister to Netherlands for a year in 1792, then to Spain in 1793. But rumors that the Spanish disliked him made Washington replace him with Pinckney in 1795. Ecstatic, Short returned to the Duchesse. But she would not leave France. After seven years of trying to woo her to wed, he returned to the US. He later found out she entered into a marriage of convenience with an older man.

Devastated, Short spent the rest of his life in lucrative business dealings, becoming a philanthropist. Much of his money he gave to the American Colonization Society, which felt slaves should be freed to return to Africa.

To return to the Jones medal — in December 1789 Short wrote to John Jay (acting Secretary of State) that he had Jones' gold medal. In May 1790 he wrote to Jefferson that he had given Jones his gold medal. In August he sent a silver medal of Jones to Jefferson. Jefferson wrote back reminding him to send two proofs (uniface) as he was collecting uniface proofs of all the medals.

After receiving his gold medal Jones became a Rear Admiral in Catherine II's Black Sea Fleet in 1787. He could not find a job in the US. He did well against the Turks, but fellow Russian officers grew jealous. They trumped up charges he had raped a girl. Though he denied the charges, he admitted he had paid her to "frolic with him". Same old personality conflicts!

Jones resigned and returned to Paris in 1791 with a Russian pension. The next year he died there of interstitial nephritis (likely from a preceding Strep infection) aged 44. Gouverneur Morris, the French Ambassador at the time, acted as Jones' executor. He settled his affairs, but could not find his gold medal. Gouverneur was Morris' first name, not a title.

Morris bought Jones' Society of the Cincinnati badge, his French Order of merit, and two gold swords. But the gold medal was nowhere to be found. The Jones dies remained in the Paris Mint, where they made restrikes.

Jones Medal Description

The medal's obverse shows Houdon's John Paul Jones bust. The legend reads: COMITIA AMERICANA. JOHANNI PAVLO JONES CLASSIS PRAE-FECTO, meaning, "American Congress to John Paul Jones Commander of the Fleet." It is a US copy die medal so no DUPRE F is on the truncation, like the medal overleaf.

The reverse shows *USS Bonhomme Richard* with sails holed and a huge rent in the port side hull. She is grappling and boarding *HMS Serapis*. It shows sailors and debris in the sea. *HMS Alliance* looks on from left.

The legend reads: HOSTIVM NAVIBVS CAPTIS AVT FVGATIS. This continues in the exergue: AD ORAM SCOTTIAE XXIII SEPT | MDCCLXXVIII. This means: ships of the enemy captured or put to flight by the shore of Scotland Sept. 23, 1779. Actually it was 175

miles south of Scotland, something the Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres should have known! The Académie was a learned society restricted to less than 40 members. But given the long standing animosity between France and England, one cannot rule out purposeful baiting of the British. This is a US copy die medal so there is no DUPRE F, as there is on the medal overleaf. The edge of the medal opposite is plain.

Types of Jones Medals

Adams and Bentley list two gold medals, one in Wayte Raymond's estate around 1956 and the second in the US Naval Academy — more about that later. Julian says the US Mint struck three gold medals.

Adams and Bentley also list eight silver and 37 bronze original specimens. Bronze medals include mounted specimens for hanging. Three uncirculated specimens sold for \$4,080 to \$6,900 in the 2019 Adams collection.

Paris dies and US Mint gunmetal dies have DUPRE.F. on the body truncation and as a third line in the reverse exergue (see overleaf). They also often show die rust and/or engraving slips. Originals have plain edges.

Paris restrikes have ARGENT or CUIVRE on the edge with a rooster after 1798, an anchor after 1822, a prow after 1842, a pointing hand after 1845, and a bee after 1860. Some refer to these as "second restrikes".

After 1880 they sandblasted the dies to remove rust, and sharpened the letters. The edges have a cornucopia. These specimens are common. I show a sandblasted silver specimen overleaf, with a cornucopia on the edge.

Paris kept the dies, and US collectors clamored for the medal. The Philadelphia medal clerk made gunmetal dies in the spring of 1863 under James B. Longacre's supervision. Some refer to these as "third restrikes". The Mint struck 25 in 1863 and another 25 in 1868. These may show large rim die cuds at 9 o'clock on both obverse and reverse. One of these in AU sold for \$1,320 in the Adams 2019 collection.

In 1875, William Barber engraved copy dies. These lack the DUPRE. F. on the obverse truncation and reverse exergue. The Mint struck only 68 medals from these dies between 1875 and 1904. Two AU specimens sold for \$288 in the 2019 Adams collection. The specimen I show opposite is a beautiful US Mint copy die. You can see it has no Dupré on the truncation, and no third line of DUPRE in the reverse exergue.

In 1905 the US Naval Academy transported Jones' remains to the Naval Academy. In 1939 Paris sent the John Paul Jones dies to the US. Congress authorized a gold restrike from these dies in 1947 for the Naval Academy where the medal and dies now reside. The US Mint also made hubs from the dies.

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1810

JOHN PAUL JONES SERAPIS BRONZE MEDAL US MINT COPY DIES. J-NA-I; 57.3MM MS 64



2702

JOHN PAUL JONES SERAPIS SILVER MEDAL PARIS SANDBLAST AFTER 1880. J-NA-1; 57.3MM MS 63

CHAPTER NINE

JEFFERSON, SHORT AND THE DIPLOMATIC MEDAL

Thomas Jefferson, with Washington's approval, oversaw the Diplomatic Medal engraved by Dupré, to present to foreign diplomats on leaving America.

Jefferson arrived in Norfolk, Virginia in November 1789. Washington told him he was to be Secretary of State. But Jefferson did not agree until February 1790.

Jefferson had been Minister to France from 1784 to 1789. Customarily France gave Ministers gifts on departure.

The Emoluments Clause in Article I, Section 9, Clause 8 of the US Constitution prohibited any person holding government office from accepting any present, emolument, office, or title from any king, prince, or foreign state, without congressional consent. The Articles of Confederation had a similar clause. This was to prevent corruption of American officers by foreign states. Nevertheless, Jefferson received gifts from the French.

John Adams also received a large gold medal and gold chain from the Netherlands in March 1788, for his diplomatic services, now in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Netherlands honored retiring diplomats with a medal and a gold chain of a length and weight commensurate with the diplomat's service and the country's seniority.



Treaty of Paris by Benjamin West, left to right: Jay, Adams, B. Franklin, Laurens, & Temple. English refused to pose thus picture is unfinished.

Notice Benjamin Franklin's brown suit. He had a new handsome velvet suit tailored for his appearance before the Privy Council in London in 1774. After his excoriation there, he packed it away. He used it only twice again. Once when meeting Louis XVI at his court to sign the 1781 Treaty of Amity with France; and once when signing the Treaty of Paris with the British in 1783. He could then say, "this suit has seen me at my best and at my worst."

Jefferson asked William Temple Franklin, who had helped negotiate the Treaty of Paris (above), for help. William Temple Franklin (1760-1823), also known as Temple Franklin, was the illegitimate son of William Franklin, Benjamin's son. William was a law student at Temple in London at the time.

Temple's mother is unknown. In 1763 Benjamin got an appointment for his son, William, as colonial governor of New Jersey. William left his son, Temple, aged three, in foster care and returned to America.

Pennsylvania sent Benjamin to London as their agent. Shortly after he arrived in 1764 he heard about Temple and eventually took over his custody and raised him.

After 11 years based in London (1764-1775) he returned to America with his grandson Temple. But the next year in 1776 he sailed to Paris as a colonial agent and took Temple with him. He remained based in Paris until 1785. Temple schooled in England, America, France and Switzerland. In Paris Benjamin made Temple his secretary from the age of 16. While negotiating the Treaty of Paris 1782-1783, Benjamin used his influence to get Temple appointed Secretary to the American Delegation.



Libera Soror (A free sister) Medal Reproduction by Holland Society of NY 1904. Holland receives John Adams 1782 #1829

The medal above shows an allegory of Holland crowning an allegory of America with a liberty hat. The reverse shows a unicorn representing England. He has a crown around his throat and a horn broken against the steep rocks. The legend TYRANNIS VIRTUTE REPULSA SUB GALLIAE AUSPICIIS means, "Tyranny repelled by valor under French auspices."

Temple returned to America with Benjamin in 1785. William had become a Royalist, becoming estranged from Benjamin and lived in England. Temple tried unsuccessfully to recover his grandfather's expenses for his 10 years in Paris. After Benjamin died in 1790, Robert Morris appointed Temple his personal agent in England, where he lived with his father William. He then moved to Paris living out the rest of his life, dying in poverty in 1823.

Jefferson had supervised Washington's set of eleven silver medals, and six additional Comitia Americana medals for presentation. He also personally collected uniface die proofs. Obviously interested in the subject, he decided the US should make another medal to give departing foreign diplomats. He sought Temple's advice on the subject. Temple had lived for 11 years in Paris and knew the ropes. Perhaps like with William Short, Jefferson wanted to give a helping hand to a bright young man.

In April 1790 Jefferson drew up a plan: a gold medal worth about \$150 and a gold chain worth about \$850 for departing foreign diplomats. He corresponded with Washington about this. Jefferson wrote that three ministers deserved the medal: the Marquis de la Luzerne, the Comte de Moustier, and the "Old Mr. van Berkel" (Netherlands Minister to America 1783-1788).

In April 1790 Jefferson also wrote to William Short, chargé d'affaires in Paris, and Marquis de La Luzerne. Short answered shortly: he would engage Dupré! However, Dupré was busy making designs for coinage for the new Republic. Short wrote again in June 1791 that the diplomatic medal was under way. At the end of 1791 Short wrote again that the dies had failed twice and had to be re-engraved.

In January 1792 the Paris Mint struck two medals in gold and six in bronze. In February 1792 William Short wrote to Jefferson that he had two gold diplomatic medals made. Four of the bronze medals survive. Dies were heavy to carry. So Short gave them to a Mr. Grand, America's banker in Paris, where they rusted. Short then transferred the five dies (the two working dies, the two failed reverse, and one failed obverse dies) to Dupré for safer storage. Gouverneur Morris, US Minister to France, wrote in November 1793 that he shipped the dies to Jefferson. They have never surfaced.



Anne César, Marquis de la Luzerne.

The first medal was for Marquis de La Luzerne (below), French ambassador to America 1779-1784. He was very sympathetic to the Revolutionary cause and even guaranteed a personal loan to feed Washington's troops in 1780. The Society of the Cincinnati made him a founding fellow.

After Luzerne left America, France appointed him Ambassador to the Court of St. James's in London in 1788. He died in September 1791. Short delivered Luzerne's gold medal to the Comte de Montmorin, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. In June 1792 the Legislative Assembly (Revolutionary government) seized Montmorin's papers. In August they condemned him to death and transferred him to prison where he died in September 1792. No one knows where the medal went.

Short gave the second gold medal to the Count of Moustier, French ambassador to the US 1787-1789. In 1789 France recalled the Count. During the French Revolution, forces called to guillotine him. When the King lost his head in 1793, Moustier left for England, then Prussia. He then returned to France intermittently from 1814 until his death in 1817. Perhaps the gold medal had more use during the Revolution as cash than as sentiment. That gold medal also vanished.

Jefferson, who kept good records, calculated the medals, chains, and engraving cost just over \$1,000 (£220). Adams and Bentley point out the Secretary of State's budget for the entire year was only \$7,921, implying Jefferson gave great importance to the medals.

Design of the Diplomatic Medal

In July 1776 Continental Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson to design a US Seal. But Congress dropped their designs. In 1780 Congress appointed a second Seal committee which also went nowhere. In 1782 Congress appointed a third committee, whose design they also rejected.

Charles Thomson was Secretary of all Continental Congresses. The First Continental Congress was 1774, the Second 1775-1781. The Confederation Congress was 1781-1789. Thomson and retired Col. William Barton generated a seal design Congress could finally live with.

Diplomatic Medal Description

The obverse of the Diplomatic Medal (opposite) shows the great seal of the United States with the legend THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Thirteen stars surrounded by a sunburst shine through the clouds, to an eagle with shield below. The eagle grasps an olive branch for peace in its dexter (right) talons, and 13 arrows for war in its sinister (left) talons. Beneath is an arabesque.

The reverse shows the female allegory of America with an Indian headdress, tobacco leaf skirt and quiver of arrows on her back. She sits holding a horn of plenty from which springs a sprig of laurel symbolizing peace. Behind her sit bales, a hogshead and an anchor, symbolizing productivity and trade. Jefferson said, "She is delivering the emblems of peace and commerce to a Mercury." Mercury (Hermes in Greece), the god of commerce, stands before her. He wears his winged helmet, winged heels, cloak, and his staff with double entwined snakes. Behind him is the ocean with a sailing ship. The legend reads TO PEACE AND COMMERCE. In the exergue is 4 July 1776. This is a Charles Barber 1876 copy die medal, signed and dated on the reverse exergue rim, with DUPRE F above the line.



2084

BRONZE DIPLOMATIC MEDAL 1776 (1876) US MINT BARBER COPY DIES. J-CM-15; 67.9MM, 144.5 GRAMS MS67

The Wayne and Stewart Stony Point 1779 medals, and the Morgan Cowpens 1781 medal use similar personifications of America — a bare breasted Indian. These allegories of America started in the 1500s, so were not new:



Meissen porcelain ca. 1760. Personification of America

Types of Diplomatic Medals

The Barber 1876 copy is from a cliché of reverse die #2 that failed. All surviving original medals show no reverse DUPRE. Adams sold his original Choice AU specimen in 2019 for \$126,000. Two bronze medals passed from Nicolas Gatteaux to his son, which he exhibited in 1867. The Great Fire of Paris destroyed them in 1871. Paris struck six bronze originals, this leaves four.

Placing arrows in the eagle's right talons is incorrect. It signifies a warlike, not a peace-like America. Nevertheless, the heraldic eagle reverse half dimes to dollars (1796-1807) and quarter, half and whole eagles (1795-1807) show the arrows in the right talon. Eminent numismatist, John Barber opines Scott may have done it on purpose to send a message that the young America was ready to defend its interests against "pirates" harassing merchant shipping in the West Indies and Africa.

W. E. Woodward, the famous numismatic dealer, catalogued a diplomatic medal in 1863. He commented that the medal's engraver had misplaced the arrows. It is possible he was used to these early US coins, which misplaced the arrows. Perhaps he thought dexter (Latin for right) meant the viewer's right, not the eagle's right.

Nevertheless, obverse die #1 in the Boston Public Library, shows the arrows in the eagle's right talon. This die failed, remaining unused. Obverse die #2 had the arrows in the eagle's left talons.

Reverse die #2 showing DUPRE's signature failed. Reverse die #3 had no DUPRE. Originals are Obverse die#2, reverse die #3.

The five dies spent some time at Mr. Grand's, America's Paris banker. But they rusted and Short transferred them to Dupré for better storage. Gouverneur Morris, Minister to France 1792-1794 sent the five dies with others in four boxes to Jefferson in 1793, which the US had paid for.

Obverse die #1 and reverse die #2 are in the Boston Public Library, both in dire condition. The other three dies are untraced.

Adams and Bentley list no obverse die #1 clichés, 8 obverse die #2 clichés, one reverse die #1 cliché, 6 reverse die #2 clichés, and 3 reverse die #3 clichés.

This was the US's first legislated diplomatic presentation piece, even before the Washington Peace Medal. Adams and Bentley give evidence that, contrary to Short's letter saying, "I only had two struck," they struck four. The other two were for Jean Baptiste Ternant, Comte de Moustiere's replacement, and Berkel, the Dutch ambassador. After the two (or four) gold medals, the medal fell off the face of the earth. None are known today.

In 1837 J. Francis Fisher described the medal which the American Journal of Numismatics (AJN) repeated. W. E. Woodward sold one for \$100 in 1863 (? reversed arrows).

In 1853 a French Geology Professor, M. Marcou reported to the AJN his clichés of the medal. He again described the loss of Gatteaux's two bronze diplomatic medals in the 1871 fire of Paris. Marcou lent his clichés (obverse die #1 and reverse die #2) to Charles Barber, who engraved copy dies in 1875-1876 for the US Mint. The Mint struck 86 of these in 1876. Barber engraved 1876 by the reverse rim at 5 o'clock. This is the medal shown on the previous page. He also copied DUPRE from the cliché's reverse.



1799 Eagle. Arrows in dexter talon. #2261

on the reverse. In addition they have added a weird touch — Barber's signature with the date 1876! As John Kraljevich said in the Adams catalogue, when you see copies of copies you know a medal is rare. This is a fantasy copy of Barber's 1876 copy! Overleaf is a brassy sandblast 1900s proof. Most collectors dislike this finish, preferring the US Mint's 1800s mahogany finishes.

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2701

DIPLOMATIC MEDAL GOLD PARIS MINT RECREATION 2013; 40.3MM, 62.2 GRAMS PCGS PF 69



1909

BRONZE DIPLOMATIC MEDAL US MINT C. BARBER COPY DIES 1876. BRASSY 1900'S SANDBLAST PROOF

CHAPTER TEN

LEE AND PAULUS HOOK

Major Henry Lee at Paulus Hook

If you think the history of all these Comitia Americana medals is complicated you are not done yet! Lee's medal is even worse!



Brig. Henry Lee III by William West ca. 1838

Henry Lee (1756-1818) was a cavalry officer during the Revolution. He later became Governor of Virginia. His son was Robert E. Lee, the Confederate General.

Henry Lee grew up on his father's (Col. Henry Lee II's) estate, "Leesylvania". The estate covered 2,000 acres raising tobacco, grain, and dairy products in Virginia. On the West bank of the Potomac, 32 miles south of today's Washington, DC, they also caught fish commercially.

When Henry II died in 1787, he left the property and his 55 slaves to his second son, Charles. This was likely because Henry III, his first son, our hero, was a spendthrift. Charles later became US Attorney General and interim Secretary of State.

Henry Lee III graduated from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) as a lawyer in 1773 aged 18. Instead of practicing law he joined the Continental army in 1775 as a dragoon (cavalry) Captain. Washington, hearing he captured 124 British prisoners in 1777, recommended Lee lead a partisan corps. Lee led a group of mixed cavalry and infantry called "Lee's Legion." Such highly mobile troops were useful for reconnaissance, skirmishing and guerrilla warfare. The legion grew to 100 horsemen and 100 light infantry. He became Major in 1778, winning the nickname "Light-Horse Harry". Horsemanship was then

the valued gross motor skill equivalent to today's elite athletes. Indeed George Washington would have been a GOAT (Greatest Of All Time) horseman.

In August 1779 Lee led 300 men on a raid of a British fort in Paulus Hook (now Jersey City) at night. His men had to march 14 miles and wade through water to get there.

The surprise attack, using only bayonets, captured 158, and wounded or killed 50 English. Lee lost only 2 killed, 3 wounded, and 7 captured. Early reports were that he lost 20 men but 8 returned later. Lee insisted on treating prisoners humanely.

A common way to settle matters at the time was a court martial. The American top brass court-martialled Lee on eight charges. They acquitted him on all charges, then congratulated him! The British retook their fort, but soon after abandoned it, having lost much of their control over New Jersey.

The next month Congress awarded Lee \$15,000 to give to his men (about \$50 each). By 1779 Continental Currency had devalued to about 10%, but even that was worth about a month's wages for a laborer. Congress awarded Lee a gold medal, one of only two to non-flag-rank officers during the Revolution, the other was to John Paul Jones. One star generals and above (and their naval equivalents) are flag rank officers, who received gold medals. Officers below that rank received silver medals.

Lee's medal had inscriptions that described him as a Colonel. He received a promotion at the time to Lt. Col. and transferred to the southern theater of war.

He saw action in the Battle of Guilford Court House, Eutaw Springs, and Yorktown. Soon after, he retired, claiming disappointing treatment from fellow officers. In 1782 he married his second cousin Matilda. They had three children. Then tragically, she died in 1790. One son, Henry Lee IV, became a speech writer for John Calhoun and Andrew Jackson. Henry Lee IV followed in his father's footsteps as financially inept — more about that later.

In 1793 Lee married Anne Carter, with whom he had six children, including Robert E. Lee, the future Confederate General.

In 1794 Washington asked Lee to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion as a Major General in western Pennsylvania. He commanded 13,000 militia — a show of force which quashed the rebels without a shot fired.

Lee was a delegate to the Congress of the Confederation 1786-1788. He was Virginia Governor 1791-1794, and a Representative for Virginia 1799-1801. It was Lee who eulogized Washington as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

In 1801 he retired to Stamford Hall to manage the plantation. I am not sure why his brother gave it up to him. But Henry was a financial misfit. Bankruptcy landed him in

debtor's prison for two years in 1809. His wife, Anne, and their children moved to Alexandria, Virginia, where he joined them after release. Robert E. Lee was only two years old at the time.

Stamford Hall passed to Light Horse Harry's son (Henry Lee IV) with his first wife, Matilda. But he was also a financial misfit. Scandal forced him to leave. He had an illicit affair with his wife's young sister who was his ward at the time. As her trustee he had misappropriated some of her funds to upkeep Stamford Hall. They gave him the nickname "Black Horse" Harry. He had to sell the plantation. Even then, future buyers found it encumbered.



Stamford Hall

After release from prison in 1810, Light Horse Harry helped a friend, Alexander Hanson, editor of an extreme Federalist newspaper in Baltimore. They both opposed the War of 1812. Four days after the War of 1812 began, a mob, who objected to Hanson's articles denouncing the administration, attacked his offices. Harry received multiple severe injuries, resulting in PTSD. The mob beat Hanson so severely they left him for dead.

In 1812 Harry wrote *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*. *Eyewitness accounts of the American Revolution*. People liked long titles in those days! Harry never recovered; he died six years later. Returning from a West Indies trip where he had tried to recuperate, he disembarked on Cumberland Island, Georgia. There, Nathanael Greene's daughter, Louisa, nursed him until he died. Gen. Robert E. Lee wrote a section in his father's third edition of his memoirs published in 1869.



Birthplace of Samuel Huntington.

In 1779 Congress authorized Lee's gold medal. Samuel Huntington, then 7th President of the Second Continental Congress wrote to Lee congratulating him. Some consider Huntington the first President of the United States as the states ratified the Articles of Confederation during his term. He was born in Windham, Connecticut, the town in which I live. His house is a few miles down the road.

Congress awarded Lee's gold medal in 1779. Ten years passed. Nothing happened. American Ministers in France, including Franklin, overlooked his medal. Franklin did not communicate Congress's order for the Lee medal to Humphreys, who in turn did not communicate it to Jefferson.

Jefferson, the new Secretary of State, wrote in April 1790 to William Short, chargé d'affaires in Paris, about the Diplomatic Medal. Presumably some time after that, Lee asked Jefferson about his medal in person. There is no paper trail. The First US Mint opened in late 1792 with Joseph Wright as Engraver. By late 1793 the French Revolution made Paris a tough place to do business. Jefferson asked Wright to engrave Lee's medal.

Producing the Lee Medal

Joseph Wright (1756-1793) had a famous mother, Patience, often regarded as America's first sculptor. She sculpted in clay and wax, and opened a studio in New York City. She sold her art in shops in New York, London and Paris. In 1772 she moved to London. Her son, Joseph, joined her there three years later, becoming the first American-born student to graduate from the Royal Academy of Arts. He won a silver medal for "the best model of an Academy figure" in 1778.

Patience spied for the Americans in London during the American Revolution, sending reports on British plans inside wax figurines to Benjamin Franklin in France.



Wright's Washington portrait 1783. Courtesy Mountvernon.org

Joseph and his mother traveled to Paris, where he stayed with Franklin and painted several portraits of him.

After he returned to America, he made a plaster mold of George Washington's face in 1783 to create a bronze bust. Jefferson regarded this portrait highly (below left).

Rev. Timothy Alden published a book in 1814 saying that Wright made the best medallic profile likeness of Washington. This was a unique medal ca. 1791 catalogued by Munsante in his master opus *Medallic Washington* as GW-14.

Wright began working for the new US Mint in Philadelphia after July 1792 and engraved a pattern 1792 quarter dollar. The die broke with the second copper striking. But his engraving earned him a position as the Mint Engraver.

Jefferson asked Wright to engrave the Lee dies in 1793. Wright died in the yellow fever epidemic in September 1793. On his deathbed he said he was due fifty guineas (around \$236) for engraving the Lee medal. Robert Scott then took over as Chief Engraver in November.

Die trials from the original Lee dies survive. These show no die failure. Engravers do die trials first to ensure there is nothing that they want to change while the die steel is still relatively soft, before irreversible hardening of the dies. During later die hardening, the obverse die cracked from 11 to 6 o'clock. Other cracks appeared in later striking.

What happened to the reverse die is conjecture. Adams and Bentley said, "It must have been badly damaged because it has not survived..." Julian said, "It is known that Wright finished the dies and that they broke in hardening at the mint, probably in 1793... (It is only presumed that the dies were hardened unsuccessfully prior to Wright's death...)"

Did Lee get his gold medal? Who knows! Julian conjectured that someone struck the gold medal and presented it to Lee despite cracked dies (reverse worse than obverse). Otherwise, he said, they would have cut a fresh pair of dies.

In 1836 Mint Director, Robert Patterson, replying to a question from Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, said the Mint did **not** strike the gold medal. Patterson likely asked Adam Eckfeldt, who had been with the Mint since 1792. This could mean a private mint struck it, though presumably Eckfeldt would have known that and said so if that were so. In 1793 the US Mint may not have had presses large enough to strike a 46 mm medal.

In 1841 Patterson contradicted himself, saying the Lee gold medal was struck from "cracked dies". The next year the War Department wrote to Patterson saying the Lee medal "was never struck owing to accidental fracture of the dies," and that the family was requesting a gold medal.

What happened next? The story is complicated! Franklin Peale could not find any reverse die when he started a die inventory in 1841. He started the inventory, presumably because he was pioneering electrotyping of US Mint medals. The US Mint struck several uniface medals from the cracked obverse Lee dies, mostly after 1874.

In 1878 J. F. Loubat published *The Medallic History of the United States of America 1776-1876*. Incidentally he had a Doctorate of Letters, and three Knighthoods! He noted in his introduction that he started research around 1872. I presume this included Mint enquiries. In 1874 William Barber engraved copy reverse dies for the Lee medal! What a coincidence! These show four chips in a square surrounding the letter D in DIE:



Types of Lee Medals

Around 1874 the Mint struck three silver and three bronze uniface obverse Lee medals. Adams and Bentley list four in silver and around eight in bronze. Kraljevic lists eight in silver, so there must have been other strikes before or after 1874.

After 1874 the Mint produced strikes of the original obverse die (failing with 11 to 6 o'clock cracks extending to 9 o'clock) paired with the Barber 1874 copy die reverse. Adams and Bentley estimate the Mint struck around 35, including a few in silver. The bronze medal on the next page is one of those 35 bronze medals.

Some years later the US Mint made further reverse copy dies lacking the chips around the word DIE.

Enter new dies! We call them mystery dies! Julian, writing in 1977, did not mention these. Alan Stahl, Numismatic Curator at Princeton, published a survey of Comitia Americana medals in the Coinage of the Americas Conference of 1995 (see references). He listed dies of Comitia Americana medals including two casts and an electrotype of a hitherto undescribed Lee medal. He thought these were the original 1793 dies. The Royal Swedish cabinet and French Bibliotheque Nationale show the same medals. They were accessioned before 1832 and 1856 respectively. These show a competent copy of the obverse, with various diagnostics including no WRIGHT on the truncation. The reverse shows a much larger wreath that touches the first three lines of the inscription.

Where did these dies come from? No one knows. Adams and Bentley say perhaps Robert Scott engraved them. He was the first Chief Engraver of the US Mint from November 1793 to 1823. His work was uninspired, like the dies. The Paris Mint disavowed the mystery dies as too unrefined for their work. Contemporary Birmingham medals are also more sophisticated than these copy dies. Whoever engraved them, these dies were an inferior copy of Wright's. They had no WRIGHT on Lee's truncation and no die cracks on the obverse. And the reverse wreath was too big, crowding the inscriptions.

Adams and Bentley say Charles Barber did the reverse copy dies in 1874. Both Loubat and Julian say it was William Barber who was then Chief Engraver (1869-1879). His son, Charles Barber, was Assistant Engraver 1869-1879 and Chief Engraver 1880-1917.

Only four casts and three electrotypes exist, but no medals from the mystery dies. Another interesting feature is that the Wright reverse proofs show eight straight lines of small

letters. The mystery dies **and** Barber's 1874 dies both show ten lines of larger letters with the eighth line curved up at the edges. This suggests Barber had access to the mystery reverse, but not to a Wright reverse.

According to Britannica, H. von Jacobi, a German working in St. Petersburg, Russia, first announced the process of electrotyping in 1838. Joseph Adams produced similar results in the US in 1839. Benjamin Franklin Peale, a Mint employee, produced medal electrotypes from 1840 to 1842. Adams says the three mystery die electrotypes look like Peale's.

Adams and Bentley conjecture that Scott engraved the mystery dies, from which the Mint struck a gold medal given to Lee. They further conjecture that during Lee's incarceration in debtor's prison 1809-1810, creditors sold or melted his gold medal to pay off some of his debts.

A postscript: Alan Stahl described an engraved silver medal to Lee. The unique piece surfaced in a January 1935 Thomas Elder auction. The Friends of the Princeton University Library bought it for \$100 and donated it to the library. Alan Stahl discovered it and exhibited it there first in 2005. In the 1790s Americans often hand-engraved medals (like the Washington Peace Medal) perhaps because America lacked presses to strike large medals.

This engraved medal's obverse inscriptions read: To Henry Lee for Valour & Patriotism. The reverse reads: Washington & Independence 1775-1783. Stahl in 2005 conjectured that Lee sold it to get out of debtor's prison in 1810. John Kraljevich opines it is a late 1800s fantasy.

Summary Listing of Lee Dies

- **1793 Wright obverse #1 with reverse #1** die trials intact 1793 Wright obverse #1 cracked during hardening, reverse #1 lost (possibly catastrophic failure)
8 line reverse inscription.
- **Conflicting stories re whether gold medal ever struck.**
- **Pre 1832 Mystery dies** (4 casts and 3 electros known):
mystery obv. identical except no WRIGHT on truncation
mystery rev. wreath larger touches lettering of 1st 3 lines
10 line inscription.
- **Obverse #1 8-16 uniface medals** struck, incl. 6 in 1874
- **1874 Reverse #2** copy by William Barber imitates mystery die with 10 line inscription & chips around D.
- **Later Reverse #3** copy no chips around D of DIE, 10 line inscription.
- **Later Obverse #2** copy WRIGHT on truncation, higher profile, replaced failed original #1.
- **20th century sandblast proof strikes** Julian illustration obverse #2, reverse #3.

The Mint produced no gunmetal dies.

The Adams 2019 sale fetched the following prices:

- Obv #1, rev #1 lead die trial EF- 1793 \$12,000
- Obv #1, rev #2 silver Unc \$10,800 1874-1878 (8 known)
- Obv #1, rev #2 bronze Unc \$5,280-6,600 (35 known)
- Obv #1 uniface bronze 1865-1874 Unc \$8,400 (?8 known)
- Mystery obv, Mystery rev. electro Unc \$384-780 (3 known)

Description of the Lee Medal

The obverse shows Maj. Henry Lee head right with a three-quarter military bust. WRIGHT is on the truncation. The legends around are: COMITIA AMERICANA HENRICO LEE LEGIONIS EQUIT PRAEFECTO. This means: The American Congress to Henry Lee, Officer of Cavalry. There is a die crack from 11 to 6 o'clock which also travels to 9 o'clock. Another die crack extends into the R of PRAEFECTO at 2:30 o'clock. Obverse die #1.

The reverse inscription reads: NON OBSTANTIB | FLUMINIBUS VALLES | ASTUTIS & VIRTUE BELLICA | PARVA MANY HOSTSE VICIT | VICTOSQ | ARMIS HUMANITATE | DEVINXIT | IN MEMORIAM AD PAULUS | HOOK, DIE XIX Aug 1779. This is the longest inscription of any Comitiam Americana medal. It translates, "Overcoming rivers and ramparts, with wisdom and valor, and with a small band of men, he conquered the enemy and held humanely those whom he had defeated in arms. In memory of the Battle of Paulus Hook, the nineteenth day of August 1779."

The inscription occupies 10 lines with the eighth line curved up at both ends. An open laurel wreath tied with a bow at its base encloses the inscriptions. William Barber engraved the reverse in 1874 and it includes the four triangular die chips around the D of DIE in the penultimate line. Reverse die #2.

Although Adams and Bentley criticize the artistry of Joseph Wright on this medal, I like his image of Lee. It looks real, rather than fabricated. I prefer it to Dupré's engraving of Greene. The relief is low, but the Mint made it last until around 1877, perhaps by judiciously shallow strikes. The poor relief could be from Mint workers taking excellent care of the broken die rather than a poor engraving job. Even Adam's lead die trail shows more relief in the obverse, suggesting Wright's original engraving had decent relief.

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2161

MAJ. HENRY LEE PAULUS HOOK BRONZE RESTRIKE. ORIGINAL OBV. & COPY REV. 1874 ON 45.2MM NGC 63

CHAPTER ELEVEN

RELATED MEDALS

The eleven medals for valor were:

- Washington before Boston 1776
- Gates Saratoga 1777
- Stony Point 1779 — Wayne, de Fleury, Stewart
- Lee Paulus Hook 1779
- Jones Serapis 1779
- Cowpens 1781 — Morgan, Wm Washington, Howard
- Greene Eutaw 1781

But, as a collector, I would like to have more not fewer medals to collect!

J. F. Ioubat, who wrote *The Medallic History of the United States 1776-1876*, lists the eleven valor medals and lists:

- Fidelity Medals to John Pauding, David Williams, and Isaac van Wart in 1780. However these were not properly medals but repoussé made by a silversmith. They only awarded three and made no official copies. It is therefore not collectable.
- Acknowledgement of US by Netherlands
- Treaty of Amity and Commerce US and Netherlands
- Libertas Americana
- Benjamin Franklin 1784 and 1786 medals
- Washington Indian Peace medal
- Diplomatic medal.

Charles Wyllis Betts in his *American Colonial History Illustrated by Contemporary Medals* in 1894 lists the 11 valor medals. Omitting Royalist medals and unrelated medals, he includes around 33 medals of the period.

Sorting through all these possibilities, Comitia Americana associated medals worthy of consideration might fulfill one or more to the following criteria:

- relate to the American Revolution
- be struck in Paris or America
- given for bravery during the American Revolution
- supervised by or represent Franklin, Jefferson, Humphreys or Short
- Engraved by Duvivier, Dupré, Gatteaux or Wright.

Some that fulfill these criteria are:

- Libertas Americana 1776
- Diplomatic medal 1776
- Franklin medals while he was in France 1776-1785: 1777 turban, 1777 Nini, 1784 Genius, 1786 Natus
- Lafayette Vengeur 1789
- Peace of Paris medal struck at Paris Mint 1783
- Fidelity Medal 1780
- Society of the Cincinnati badge

The Fidelity Medal and Society of the Cincinnati medals are not for sale. The Franklin 1777 turban is very rare and likely struck in England. I have chosen the following list:

- Libertas Americana 1776-1781 (Chapter 2)
- Diplomatic Medal 1776 (Chapter 9)
- Franklin Nini 1777 (Chapter 1)
- Franklin 1784 and 1786 (Chapter 3)

- Lafayette Vengeur 1789
- Peace of Paris medal struck at Paris Mint

This chapter will describe the last two medals.

Peace of Paris Medal

Duvivier engraved this medal, which he struck at the Paris Mint. It celebrated the Treaty of Paris, concluding the American Revolution. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Laurens and Temple Franklin negotiated the Treaty. Taking these facts together, I feel this medal relates to Comitia Americana medals.

Medal details

The obverse shows a bust facing right of French king Louis XVI in plain drapery. Around is the legend, LUD. XVI . REX CHRISTIANISS (Louis XVI, most Christian King). Under the truncation is B. DUVIVIER, for the engraver Pierre Simon Benjamin Duvivier.

There is a picture and description of Duvivier on page 16. In 1762 the King appointed him medalist to the King. In 1774 Duvivier replaced Joseph Charles Roettiers as general engraver of coins at the Paris Mint. Duvivier sculpted George Washington and Marquis de Lafayette. During the French Revolution his old assistant Augustin Dupré replaced him. Duvivier engraved the De Fleury medal in 1780. In 1789 he engraved the Washington before Boston, Howard and William Washington medals.

The reverse shows a standing allegory of Peace. She has one breast exposed in the French style. Her attributes are an olive branch for peace, the horn of plenty for wealth, and an ancient prow, making her goddess of the waters. The latter perhaps intimates the French rubbing England's nose in it, saying, "The French, not the English Empire, now controls the world's oceans."

The legend reads PAX FRANCIAM INTER ET ANGLIAM, continued in the exergue VERSALIIS MDC-CLXXXIII (Peace between France and England at Versailles, 1783). Just below the exergue line is DUVIV for Duvivier.

Interestingly, Nicolas Gatteaux struck a very similar medal. He used the same reverse by Duvivier. For the obverse he engraved another version of the king with identical legends. However, Gatteaux dressed the king in royal robes, wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece. Duvivier's obverse is Betts-612, Gatteaux's obverse is Betts-611.

The Peace of Paris was a complex affair between England, Spain, America, France and Netherlands. But the medal opposite was France's take at that particular point in the epic struggle in the War of Empires between the English and French from 1688 to 1815.



2947

1783 PEACE OF PARIS MEDAL COPPER. BETTS-612; 41.8 MM, 32.71 GRAMS UNC

I show a more enigmatic peace medal on the page opposite. The obverse shows an allegory of Peace on the left, advancing with an olive branch in her left hand. Her second attribute, the horn of plenty, is shown below her right arm. With her right hand she grasps America who holds a pole with a liberty hat, done in the Dutch style, rather than the French and American cap style.

At their feet are five shields from left to right:

- Netherlands with a rampant lion
- Ireland with a harp, said to represent England
- Spain with a castle
- France with three fleurs de lys
- America with 9 horizontal stripes and 9 below. Artistic license? Or was the medalist saying he knew only nine states originally voted in favor of the Declaration of Independence in the initial vote July 1, 1776?

A bow ties the shields of France, Spain and England.

On the left is a fort firing cannon balls at a fleet of ships with the word MAHO above it. This refers to the Battle of Mahon, or Minorca. This was a battle between the French and British fleets. Port Mahon is at the eastern end of the island of Minorca.

The War of Empires, fought intermittently from 1688 to 1815, pitted the French and English Empires against each other with intermittent wars and differing allies. The Seven Year's War started in Europe in 1756 with the French attack on British held Minorca. (The American war called **The** French and Indian War started in 1754.)

In 1756 the British quickly promoted Vice Admiral John Byng in Gibraltar to a full Admiral and sent him with 10 ships of the line to defend the British garrison in Minorca. He drew his ships upwind parallel to the French. Byng was very cautious. He suffered much more damage than the better armed and manned French ships. Byng's flagship did not even come within firing range of French ships. After considerable damage, he decided to return to Gibraltar. The British Admiralty court-martialled him and executed him the next year for failing to fulfill orders:

The SHOOTING of ADMIRAL BYNG on board the MONARQUE.



On the medal's right is the Rock of (British held) Gibraltar defending itself, firing cannon onto the French and Spanish fleets during the Great Siege of Gibraltar 1779-1783. France and Spain tried to capture Gibraltar from the British during the American Revolutionary War.

Several British relief fleets got through the blockade to resupply Gibraltar. The besiegers lost over 6,000 killed or wounded. The British garrison lost only 1,341. Many died from disease. But the British tied up Spanish and French forces for several years. The siege ended in February 1783. The British negotiated the Treaty of Paris during the siege.

Above the entire scene is the Eye of Providence, an eye enclosed in a triangle with rays of light (called a glory), representing the eye of God watching over humanity. The back of today's dollar bill shows the same:



The legend is SIC HOSTES CONCORDIA IVNGI AMICOS, Thus concord unites enemies as friends. In the obverse exergue is a large town on the water, said to represent Paris where they signed the Treaty. Beneath the exergue line is PRUDENTIA & FATIS (by prudence and the Fates).

The reverse shows Peace with her attributes, an olive branch and a horn of plenty, trampling on a man with a broken sword representing War. On the right is another rendition of the Great Siege of Gibraltar. Above on the left is a sun in splendor over hills, and fame flying right with a trumpet saying FIAT PAX (let there be peace). She holds a laurel wreath to crown Peace the victor. The legend is ENSIBVS EX MARTIS LVX PACIS LAETA RESVRGIT (from the clash of weapons of war, the joyful light of peace rises again). In the exergue is OPE VVL-CANI 1783 (by the aid of Vulcan i.e. hard labor or industry)

The engraver and country of origin (?Netherlands) are unknown. The medal is white metal, in an exceptional state of preservation. This speaks to the inclusion of a small "scavenger" copper plug over the N of PRVDENTIA on the obverse. Some say it retards corrosion, though some feel it has no effect. Amazing that one medal can issue such a cacophony of historical data!

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[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Minorca_\(1756\)#/media/File:The_Shooting_of_Admiral_Byng_\(John_Byng\)_from_NPG.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Minorca_(1756)#/media/File:The_Shooting_of_Admiral_Byng_(John_Byng)_from_NPG.jpg)
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Minorca_\(1756\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Minorca_(1756))
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eye_of_Providence#/media/File:Dollar_note_siegel_hq.jpg



2641

1783 TREATY OF PARIS MEDAL WHITE METAL BETTS-610; 43 MM NGC MS 63

Marie Paul Jean Roch Ives Gilbert Motier, Marquis de Lafayette

What a long name! Lafayette was born into the aristocracy in 1757. Two years later his father died in battle against the British. His mother left him in Auvergne (in Southern France) with his grandmother. His mother sent him aged 11 to a musketeer officer training school in Paris. His family had a military tradition. Even at 12, his annual income was 120,000 livres or 20,000 ecus (an ecu was a large silver coin about the size of a silver dollar with a face value of 6 livres i.e. \$20,000 a year aged 12). At that time in US the average laborer earned about \$150 a year.

Aged 14, he was commissioned as a musketeer but continued other studies. Aged 18, he achieved the rank of Captain. One day in 1775, the 18-year-old aristocrat dined with George III of England's brother, the Duke of Gloucester and an American sympathizer. Describing the American Revolution inspired Lafayette to travel there.



Lt. Gen. Lafayette in 1791, by Joseph-Désiré Court.

Aged 17, he married a lady his family had purposefully exposed him to, rather than betrothing him. The marriage was joyful. There is a curious tendency to think arranged marriages must be de facto terrible. But I have known people in arranged marriages who are perfectly happy. I am not talking about forced marriages between a 10-year-old girl and an older man who forces her to have sex. Successful arranged marriages are typically between two families of similar social strata and age, and often childhood friends.

In our culture we choose our marriage partners, stressing romantic over companionate love. But according to a

2012 study by Statistic Brain, the global divorce rate for arranged marriages was 6%, much lower than for free-choice marriages. When you think of it, families with their friends know who is good and who is not. The last thing they want to do is to commit their child to an unhappy marriage, so they are careful to choose a family that is a good family, and a union that will be equitable. It is like a dating service, but all done for you without the anxiety!

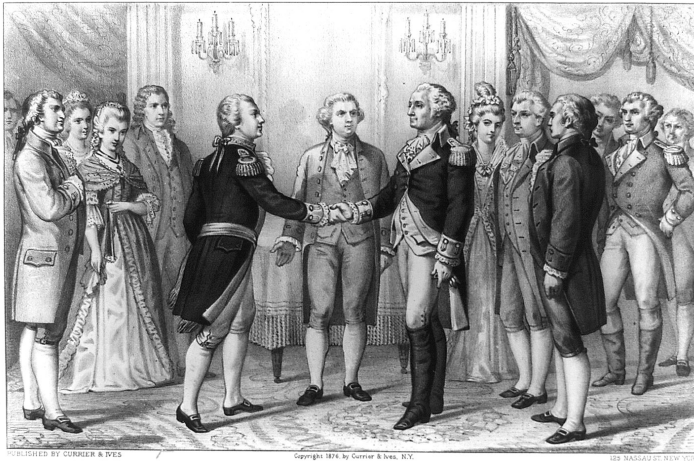
Back to Lafayette! In 1776, after Britain defeated the French in The Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the French felt supplying arms and officers to America during the revolution might change the balance. The idealistic Lafayette wanted to help the American Revolution. But because the Continental Congress would not vote the funds to pay his voyage, Lafayette bought his own ship "Victoire" for £112,000 (approximately \$400,000, and he certainly had the money)! He sailed to the US in 1777.



**Lafayette in the uniform of an Honorary
Major General by Charles Willson Peale.**

The Continental army attracted too many French officers who had no military experience and did not speak English. But Lafayette's freemasonry opened doors for him. He learnt English during his voyage. Within a year he was fluent. He offered to serve free Franklin realized he was well connected and suggested Congress make him an honorary Major General. Washington met him in August 1777 and bonded with him immediately. Washington had no children with Martha, just her two children from a previous marriage, and treated Lafayette like his own son. And the wealthy freemason was in awe of his cause.

Lafayette's first battle was Brandywine in September 1777, one of the largest battle of the war. There he received a leg wound. But despite his wounds he retreated and rallied American troops resulting in an orderly retreat. Washington then advocated for troops under Lafayette's command rather than just an honorary title. This hap-



THE FIRST MEETING OF WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE.
Philadelphia, August 3rd 1777.

pened in November 1777. American General Horatio Gates asked Lafayette to invade Quebec from Albany, but when Lafayette arrived there, he found too small a force. Despite recruiting Oneida Indians, he returned to Valley Forge feeling it was unwise to invade Quebec in the winter. Average temperatures in January and February are a high of 22 and a low of 3 degrees Fahrenheit! Washington agreed.

Lafayette overwintered at Valley Forge with Washington 1777/8. In May 1778 the British evacuated Philadelphia and moved to New York City. Washington asked Lafayette to reconnoiter with 2,000 men. British General Howe got wind of this and attacked him with 11,000 men, but Lafayette outmaneuvered him by feigning superior forces while retreating.



John Ward Dunsmore's painting of Lafayette (right) & Washington at Valley Forge.

While the British troops marched from Philadelphia to New York City, Lafayette joined Washington in the Monmouth Courthouse attack on British General Henry Clinton's rearguard in June 1778. American General Charles Lee gave conflicting orders, which confused the American troops. Lafayette realized this and urged Washington to take over and rally the troops. Lee was later court-martialed. This was the battle that glorified Molly Pitcher, who bought water to the American troops. With temperatures over 100 degrees, more died from heat exhaustion than musket balls. But most historians feel she was more fable than fact!

The French fleet arrived at Delaware Bay under Admiral d'Estaing in July 1778. Washington planned to attack the British in Newport, Rhode Island, and sent d'Estaing, General Nathanael Greene and Lafayette with 3,000 men. But d'Estaing refused to help and left Newport to try to defeat the British fleet at sea. Instead he suffered storm damage and put in for repairs at Boston (to local boos).

Lafayette left in January 1779 for France to try to increase royal help for the American cause. The French King, to save face, put him on house arrest for 8 days for disobeying orders to stay in France. But they were soon pals. Lafayette tried to persuade France to invade Britain, but the plan fizzled out. However, Benjamin Franklin got France to send 6,000 men under French Gen. Rochambeau to America. They arrived in Newport, in July 1780.

Lafayette returned to America arriving in April 1780. He met with Washington in May, who made him aide-de-camp and had him write letters to request more French troops and provisions. Lafayette then patrolled northern New Jersey and New York State with a division of troops with no action during the summer. Meanwhile the British had started to attack the South, called the "Southern Plan".

Lafayette spent the winter of 1780-1781 in Philadelphia. In January 1781, after America's victory at Cowpens in South Carolina, Lafayette went to Virginia with the Prussian Baron von Steuben. They wanted to trap the British under Benedict Arnold, who had switched sides. Good try — but they did not manage to capture him.



National Park Service Map of Washington's, Rochambeau's and Cornwallis' movements in 1781.



Lafayette and Washington at Mount Vernon 1784 by Rossiter and Mignot.

In June 1781 London told Lord Cornwallis to construct a port in Chesapeake Bay as a base to attack Philadelphia. As the British travelled from the South, Lafayette constantly harassed their rearguard. In July Lafayette ordered American Brig. Anthony Wayne with 800 men to attack the British hiding in a forest on the Virginia peninsula. Wayne did very well, and this encouraged American troops.

Cornwallis established a port at Yorktown to provide a place for the British fleet to land. But the French fleet, under Admiral de Grasse, intercepted the British fleet, so Cornwallis, who had expected to evacuate from there, was stuck (more accurately, screwed)! Washington closed in. They took two important British redoubts. Lafayette took number 9, and Lt. Col. Alexander Hamilton took number 10, both with a lot of hand to hand fighting. They were key to breaking the British defenses.

Lafayette left for France in December 1781, arriving a month later in Paris. It is interesting how we now regard travel times because of planes. In fact, four to five weeks to travel from Boston to Paris was not that long. As a child I lived in Hong Kong in the 1950s with my parents. When my father's military tour of duty was over, we sailed back from Hong Kong to UK. As far as I recall the journey took us around six weeks. Things had changed little in 200 years!

To return to our subject, when Lafayette arrived in France, they gave him a hero's welcome, promoted him to French Major General and knighted him. He was only 25!

After the Treaty of Paris, Lafayette visited the US in 1784, receiving an honorary degree from Harvard. He visited Washington and tried to get him to emancipate his slaves as he had joined a French abolitionist group. Lafayette failed, but Washington did leave instructions in his

will to emancipate his slaves. When he died in 1799, 123 slaves were emancipated.

In 1789 they elected Lafayette a member of the Estates General during the French Revolution. He helped write the French Constitution, imitating the American constitution. After the storming of the Bastille in 1789, he was made Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard. He steered a middle course, believing in Constitutional Monarchy with a democratic National Assembly.

In 1792 radicals ordered his arrest. So he fled to the Austrian Netherlands where troops imprisoned him, as King Frederick William II of Prussia saw him as an anti-Royalist.

Five years later when Napoleon came to power he got him released. After the Bourbon restoration in 1814, Lafayette served in the Chamber of Deputies, the lower chamber of the French parliament.

In 1824, President James Monroe invited him to tour all 24 states to a rapturous reception. This was to prepare for the 50th anniversary of American Independence in 1826. Monroe asked Congress to vote him a gift of \$200,000 for his services. Americans treated him like royalty, building monuments, and showering him with gifts.

Details of Lafayette Caunois Medal

The obverse of the Caunois medal opposite, struck at the Paris Mint, celebrated Lafayette's US 1824 tour. It shows Lafayette's civilian bust facing right. On the truncation is 1824, and beneath this, CAUNOIS FRENCH. Francois Augustin Caunois (1787-1859) was a prominent French medalist. The legend reads, GENERAL LAFAYETTE. The reverse shows an oak wreath around with the legend, THE DEFENDER | OF AMERICAN AND | FRENCH LIBERTY | 1777-1824 | BORN IN CHAVANIAC, | THE 6 SEPTEMBER, | 1757.



2389

CAUNOIS BRONZE LAFAYETTE MEDAL 1824 VISIT TO US. 47MM, 47.48 GRAMS UNC



1824

LAFAYETTE VENGEUR DE LA LIBERTÉ BRONZE MEDAL 1789. 40 MM, 29.84 GRAMS AU



1900 Commemorative Lafayette dollar. #209

In 1830 the French overthrew their King, Charles X. They offered Lafayette the dictatorship of France. He instead supported Charles' cousin Louis-Philippe to become king, though he later opposed him when he became autocratic.

When Lafayette died in 1834 at 77, the French mourned his death. But America mourned his death more, where his death seemed second only to Washington's.

In 1898 the US Congress voted for a commission to erect a monument to Lafayette in Paris for the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition. The commission voted for an equestrian statue sculpted by Paul Wayland Bartlett as a gift to the French people. Bartlett (1865-1925) was a US sculptor who spent much of his time in Paris. The first US Commemorative dollar in 1900 shows Washington and Lafayette (above). The coin was sold to pay for the statue.

Lafayette Vengeur Medal

Benjamin Duvivier, medalist to the King and Chief Engraver of all French Mints, engraved the Vengeur de la Liberte (defender of liberty) medal which he had struck at the Paris Mint in 1789. He was celebrating Lafayette's appointment as commander of the National Guard.

The obverse shows a military bust of Lafayette in a Major General's uniform facing left. The legend reads: M.P.J.R.I. MOTIER MQIS DE LA FAYETTE NE LE 6 SEPT.1757. (Marie Paul Joseph Roch Yves Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette. Born September 6, 1757.)

In the obverse exergue is, OFFERT PAR B. DUVIVIER | A LA GARDE NATIONALE (Offered by Benjamin Duvivier to the National Guard).

The reverse is all lettering. The legend around the periphery reads VENGEUR DE LA LIBERTE DANS LES DEUX MONDES (Defender of Liberty in the Two Worlds).

The inscription at the center of the medal reads: MAJOR GENERAL | DANS LES ARMEES | DES ETATS UNIS D'AMERIQU^E. | EN 1777/ MARESCHAL DE CAMP |

VICE PRESIDT. DE L'ASSEMBLEE | NATIONALE LE 12 JUILLET | COMMANDANT GENERAL | DE LA GARDE NATIONALE^E. PARIS^E. | LE 15 JUILLET | 1789. (Major General in the army of the United States of America, in 1777; Major General, Vice President of the National Assembly on July 12, 1789; commanding General of the Paris National Guard, July 15, 1789.)

The medal, engraved by Duvivier, struck at the Paris Mint in 1789, for such an American Patriot from France is indelibly sculpted on American soil. Is this not worthy of inclusion with the Comitia Americana series?

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TABLE OF COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS

Values for UNC in bronze unless grade stated. Mainly from Adams 2019 auction.

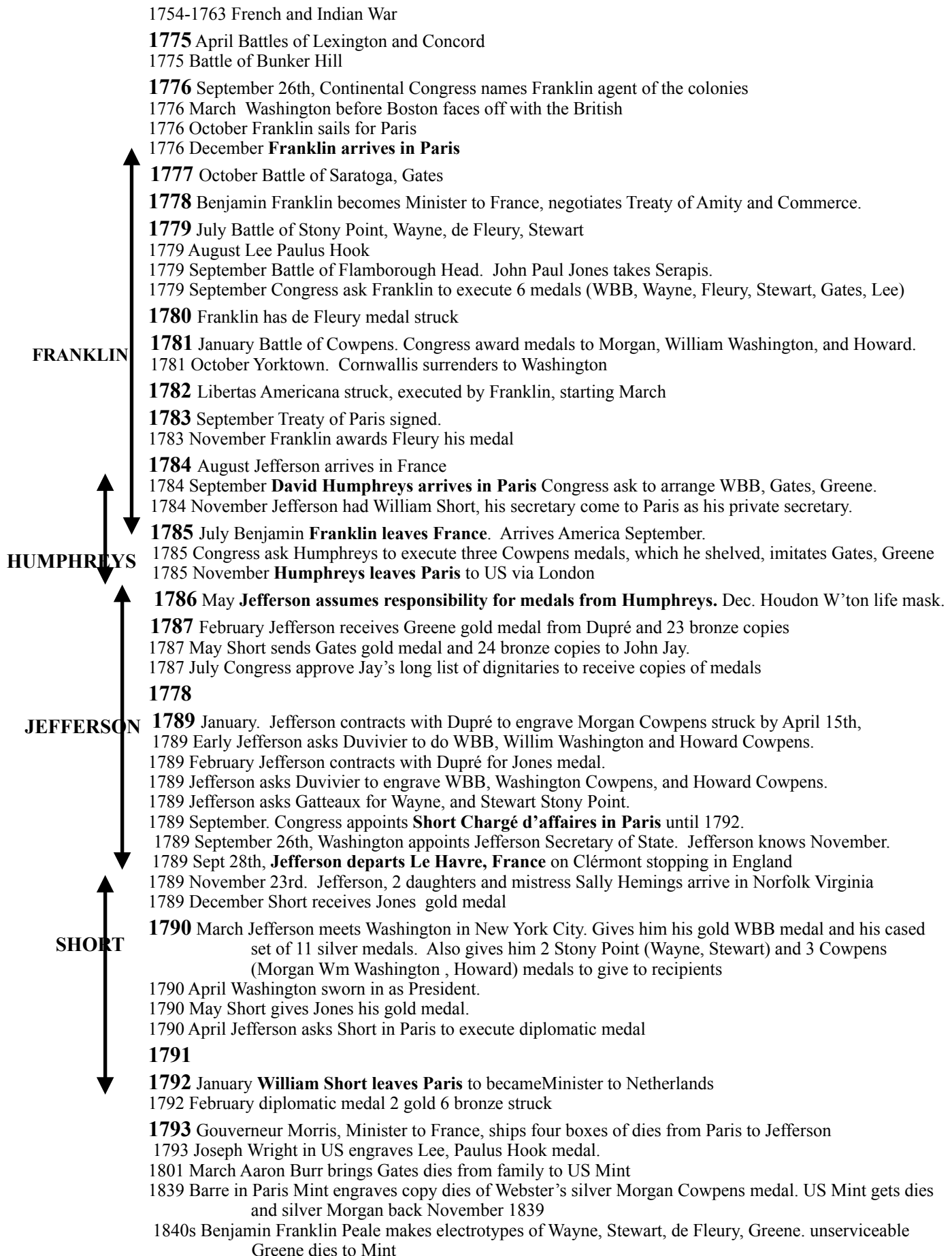
Values on right most column for dealer bought Unc bronze, quoted in MCA March 2017 page 14

Figures fom Adams and Bentley, and Kraljevich 2019 Adams Sale by StacksBowers

Rank Name Action	Obverse Devices	Reverse Devices	Date on medal	Date medal made	Adams Bentley group	Supervisor	Engraver	Betts #	Julian #
Franklin	Franklin	none	1777	1777	I	none	Nini	548	none
Franklin Phila.	Franklin	Oak tree	1777	1777	I	none	Unknown	547	none
Franklin genius	Franklin	Genius	1784	1784	I	none	Dupré	619	none
Franklin Natus	Franklin	Inscription	1786	1786	I	none	Dupré	620	none
Lt. Col Francoise de Fleury Stony Point	de Fleury	Stony Point Battle scene	1779	1780	I	Franklin	Duvivier	566	J-MI-4
Libertas Americana	Liberty	Allegorical scene	1776	1782	I	Franklin	Dupré	615	no
Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates Saratoga	Gates	Burgoyne surrenders	1777	1787	II	Humphreys	Gatteaux	557	J-MI-2
Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene Eutaw	Greene	Winged victory	1781	1787	II	Humphreys	Dupré	597	J-MI-10
Lt. Gen. George Washington before Boston	Washington bust	Washington on horseback Boston in distance	1776	1789	III	Jefferson "1st tranche"	Duvivier	542	J-MI-1
Lt. Col. William Washington Cowpens	Battle scene	Inscription	1781	1789	III	Jefferson "1st tranche"	Duvivier	594	J-MI-8
Lt. Col. John Eager Howard Cowpens	Howard on horse chases soldier	Inscription	1781	1789	III	Jefferson "1st tranche"	Duvivier	595	J-MI-9
Brig. Anthony Wayne Stony Point	America alligator presents to Wayne	Stony Point Battle scene	1779	1789	IV	Jefferson "2nd tranche"	Gatteaux	565	J-MI-3
Maj. John Stewart Stony Point	America gives branch to Stewart	Stony Point Battle scene	1779	1789	IV	Jefferson "2nd tranche"	Gatteaux	567	None
Brig. Daniel Morgan Cowpens	America crowns Morgan	Battle scene	1781	1789	IV	Jefferson "2nd tranche"	Dupré	593	J-MI-7
Capt. John Paul Jones Serapis	Bust of Jones	Bonhomme Richard on fire	1779	1789	V	Jefferson/ Short	Dupré	568	J-NA-1
Diplomatic Medal	Great Seal of US	America seated and Mercury	1776	1792	V	Jefferson/ Short	Dupré		J-CM-15
Maj. Light Horse Harry Lee Paulus Hook	Bust of Lee	Inscription in laurel wreath	1779	1793	VI	Jefferson US	Wright	575	J-MI-6

Tan to brown Concave or rounded edges, very crisp. All have edge markings after 1842. Smooth thin planchets		no symbol pre 1798 Rooster 1798-1821 Plain anchor 1822-42 Lamp 1832-41 anchor & C 1841-2 Prow 1842-5 Point hand 1845-60 Bee 1860-79 Cornucopia 1880-98	Mahogany red bronzed patina Squared edges Thicker	1st date when engraved 2nd date when 1st struck		WM = White Metal Au = gold Ag = silver Cu = copper or bronze 1900s light bronze sandblast mostly under \$100	RARITY R4 = 76 - 200 R 5 = 31-75 R 6 = 13-30 R 7 = 4 - 12	
Paris Original Mint Pre 1832 # made Price	Present Location of original dies	Paris restrikes # Price	Gunmetal dies. Date # Price	US Mint Copy dies Date # & price	Electros Details Price	Gold or Silver Medal	Comments	Adams Kraljevich Lopez Availability
Private \$1k AU	unknown	no	no	no		(Ag&Cu)		
UK \$17k for 63	unknown	UK no	no	no		(Ag&Cu)	4 Ag, 8 Cu. VF \$1k.	
Paris \$3k for 63	Paris	\$600	no	no		(Ag&Cu)	2-3 Ag, 4-8 Cu.	
Paris \$1.5k for 63	Paris	\$1,000	no	no		(Ag&Cu)	Ag restrikes	
Paris \$31,200 for AU 5Ag,9CuOriginals	unknown	no	no	C. Barber 1880 47 struck 1880 \$3.5k	1840s Peale \$500	Ag	Copy dies say 1880 Reproduction	Copy dies R6 \$3,500
Paris	Paris \$22-28k for 63	no	no	no		(Ag&Cu)	100-125 in bronze ~24 in silver	\$15k Unc \$27k for 63
Paris \$14,400 for EF	US Mint \$1k-\$2k	no	no	1880 ? Never used	no	Au. NY Historical Society	Dies->family->Burr to US Mint Dies to US Mint 1801	copy dies bronze \$5,000 WM \$3,500
\$20-30k 24 made \$8,400 for EF 1Au, 2Ag, 24Cu	US Mint broken and discarded	no	no	1886 engraved 1891 struck 30 \$2,500-5,000 ? Engraver	Franklin Peale from dies 1843 \$2k for 45-55	Au RI Historical Society	Dies given to wife then US Mint. Unservicable by 1840	Copy dies R7 \$5,000 Electros \$500-2,000
\$8k-\$15k for originals pre 1832	Paris	starting 1832 \$1k 1835-1880 \$300 1880-1930	1863 \$1,100 AU 145 made	1885 C. Barber \$750 for 65	no	Au Boston Public Library	See Chapter 5 for prices of numerous die pairings	Gunmetal dies R6 \$1,500 Copy dies R4 \$1,500
\$2,280-\$3,600 for AU to 63 4 Ag, 36 Cu	Paris	yes \$500	1863 77 made \$384-\$1,080 for AU to 63	1888 \$480 for 60 16 bronze 1 silver	no	Ag		Gunmetal dies R5 \$1,200 Copy dies R6 \$1,500
\$1,920-\$5,040 for 60-63 6 Ag, 26 Cu	Paris	yes \$500	1868 36 made \$312-\$1,080 for AU to 63	1881 Reproduction 1881 in exergue \$1,020 for 65	no	Ag	Gunmetal strikes show soldier's index knuckle touching rim. Not originals	Gunmetal dies R6 \$1,200 Copy dies R7 \$2,500
\$84,000 AU	Unknown	yes \$11,400 for 66	no	C.Barber 1886 1889 struck	\$2-4,000 AU 1842 Peale	Au Penn Society of Sons of Liberty		Electrotypes R5 \$500- 2,000 Copy dies R6 \$4,000
2 Ag, 2 Cu 4 Clichés known	Unknown	no	no	no	10 electros known	Ag	10 electros known 11 electros of electros known	
\$55k-\$78k for AU55 Blob die break rev exerg.	Unknown Lost US has Barre	no	no	Barre copy die Paris 1839 sent to US \$1,620-\$2,800 60-63	no	Au Missing	1839 US Au medal shipped to family 1841 Gold medal vanished Original 1Au, 3Ag, 7Cu	Barre dies R5 \$3,000
\$4k-\$7k for Unc 2-3 Au, 8Ag 37 Cu	Paris dies brought to US 1950 on display Naval Academy	yes \$500	1863 no Dupré on dies \$1,320 for AU	1875 W. Barber 68 struck \$288 for 63	no	Ag		Gunmetal dies R6 \$1,200 Copy dies R5 \$1,500
2-4 gold ? Where 3 Cu, 18 clichés \$126k for 55	Paris to US, now missing	Modern repro 2820 for 69 2 oz gold	no	C. Barber 1875 1876, 86 struck \$4,560 for 63	no	Ag	5 dies made because broke Gold untraced. Dies obv#1 & rev#2 in Boston Pub Lib	
Unknown if gold ever given Obv#1 cracked Rev#1 untraced Obv#1Rev#2 Ag 8,	US Obverse only	only US		1874 W. Barber Reverse die only 35 strikes of original obv w/ copy rev \$6,000 for 60	Mystery die only known by electros and casts	Au probably never struck	Mystery dies pre 1832 only known by electros and casts \$380-780. \$8,400 for Uniface obv in 60 8-12 uniface known made 1865-1874.	Uniface obv R7 \$5,000 Copy die rev. R6 \$4,000 Mystery electro R7 \$2,000

TIMELINE FOR RESPONSIBILITY AND EVENTS FOR COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS



COMITIA AMERICANA LISTS

ELEVEN HEROISM MEDALS

- Washington before Boston 1776
- Gates Saratoga 1777
- Stony Point 1779 — Wayne, de Fleury, Stewart
- Lee Paulus Hook 1779
- Jones Serapis 1779
- Cowpens 1781 — Morgan, Wm W'ton, Howard
- Greene Eutaw 1781

OTHER RELATED MEDALS

- Libertas Americana 1776
- Diplomatic medal 1776
- Franklin Nini 1777
- Franklin of Philadelphia 1777
- Franklin Genius 1784
- Franklin Natus Boston 1786
- Peace of Paris Medal, Paris Mint 1783
- Lafayette Vengeur 1789

MEDALS BY DATE ON MEDAL

- Washington before Boston 1776
- Libertas Americana 1776
- Diplomatic medal 1776
- Franklin Nini 1777
- Franklin from Philadelphia 1777
- Gates Saratoga 1777
- Stony Point 1789 — Wayne, de Fleury, Stewart
- Lee Paulus Hook 1779
- Jones Serapis 1779
- Cowpens 1781 — Morgan, Wm W'ton, Howard
- Greene Eutaw 1781
- Treaty of Paris 1783
- Franklin Genius 1784
- Franklin Natus Boston 1786
- Lafayette Vengeur 1789

MEDALS BY DATE OF PRODUCTION

- Franklin Nini 1777
- Franklin Philadelphia 1777
- de Fleury 1780
- Libertas Americana 1782
- Franklin Genius 1784
- Franklin Natus Boston 1786
- Gates Saratoga 1787
- Greene Eutaw 1787
- Washington before Boston early 1789
- Washington Cowpens early 1789
- Howard Cowpens early 1789
- Morgan Cowpens later 1789
- Stewart Stony Point later 1789
- Wayne Stony Point later 1789
- Jones Serapis late 1789
- Lafayette Vengeur 1789
- Diplomatic medal 1792
- Lee Paulus Hook 1793

GOLD HEROISM MEDALS (rest silver)

(Lee & Jones were not flag rank)

- Washington before Boston 1776 Boston Public Library
- Gates Saratoga 1777, NY Historical Society
- Wayne Stony Point 1789, PA Society of Sons of Rev
- Greene Eutaw 1781, RI Historical Society
- Jones Serapis 1789, Annapolis Naval Academy
- Morgan Cowpens 1781 — missing
- Lee Paulus Hook 1779 — missing

ENGRAVERS (with date of engraving)

DUPRE

- Libertas Americana 1782
- Franklin Genius. 1784
- Franklin Natus Boston. 1786
- Green Eutaw 1787
- Jones Serapis 1789
- Morgan Cowpens 1789
- Diplomatic medal 1792

DUVIVIER

- De Fleury 1780
- Peace of Paris 1783
- Washington before Boston engr. 1789
- William Washington Cowpens 1789
- Howard Cowpens 1789
- Lafayette Vengeur 1789

GATTEAUX

- Peace of Paris 1783
- Gates Saratoga 1787
- Wayne Stony Point 1789
- Stewart Stony Point 1789

WRIGHT

- Lee Paulus Hook 1793

US MINT COPY DIES

- Morgan Cowpens, Barre (Paris) 1839
- Lee Paulus Hook 1874 W. Barber reverse die
1898 mystery dies -> electros
- Diplomatic Medal 1875 C. Barber, struck 1876
- Jones Serapis W. Barber 1875
- Howard Cowpens reverse W. or C. Barber 1879,
obverse C. Barber 1881
- de Fleury, C. Barber 1880 (reverse only)
- Washington before Boston, C. Barber 1885
- Wayne Stony Point, C. Barber 1887-9
- Greene Eutaw 1886 ? engraver. 1st struck 1891

US MINT GUNMETAL DIES

(numbers are specimens struck)

- Washington before Boston 1863 gunmetal 145
- Jones Serapis 1863 gunmetal 50
- Wm Washington Cowpens, 1863 gunmetal 77
- Howard Cowpens, 1868 gunmetal 36

LOCATION OF ORIGINAL PARIS DIES

MUSEE DE MONNAIES (Paris Mint)

- **Libertas Americana**
- **Franklin 1784 & 1786**
- **Washington before Boston**
- **Wm Washington Cowpens**
- **Howard Cowpens**
- **Jones Serapis**

UNKNOWN

- **de Fleury Stony Point**
- **Wayne Stony Point**
- **Stewart Stony Point**
- **Morgan Cowpens**
- **Diplomatic Medal**

US MINT

- **Gates Saratoga**
- **Lee Paulus Hook**
- **Greene broken and discarded**

ADAMS' AND BENTLEY'S SUPERVISION GROUPINGS

Group I Franklin Dec. 1776 to July 1785

de Fleury, Libertas

Group II Humphreys Sept. 1784 to May 1786

Gates, Greene

Group III Jefferson May 1786 to Sept. 1789

"early tranche"

Washington before Boston, Wm Washington, Howard

Group IV *"later tranche"*

Wayne, Stewart, Morgan

Group V Short Sept. 1789 to Jan 1792 for Jefferson

Jones, Diplomatic Medal

Group VI Jefferson in US 1793

Lee

Adams, Kraljevich & Lopez Categories (pp 8-14 MCA, April 2017)

Category 1. Paris Dies

proof-like fields, tan to brown, bronzed if struck in US

Category 2 Gunmetal Dies

subdued fields, bronzed red, Washington before Boston, Wm Washington, Howard and Jones

Category 3 US Mint copy dies (see list)

copies faithful but very regular lettering, no touching letters, some have extra dates or signatures

Category 4 Electrotyping at US Mint

1843 Benjamin Franklin Peale made electros for Greene family, 1842 Wayne electros. Dealer also made contemporary electros, cannot say who did them

Category 5 one sided

Original clichés, Lee uniface US Mint strikes

If you decide to collect Comitia Americana I suggest you check out the chart at the back of this book and decide on what sort of medals you would like to collect. For \$30 on eBay you can buy the Smithsonian and US Mint's product America's First Medals showing ten 38 mm low resolution pewter medals. It comes in a beautiful presentation case with a detailed 44-page booklet by Vladimir and Elvira Clain-Stefanelli.

If you want to spend little you can collect just a few, or twentieth century copies only. Most medal devotees prefer the mahogany tones of non-sandblasted dies done in the nineteenth century rather than the brassy, lighter colored, sandblasted twentieth century products:



Upper is 1900s sandblasted brassy, lower is 1800s non-sandblasted rich coloration.

PARIS MINT EDGE

MARKINGS

Minute marks appear on the edge of the medals, generally at 6:00, along with metal designation **OR**, Gold; **ARGENT**, Silver, sometimes with added 1, 2 or 3; **CUIVRE**, Copper; **BRONZE**; or **ZINC**.

The following marks provide at least an approximation of the date of striking through 1966:

No symbol pre 1798

Rooster on edge, 1798-1821

Anchor without C interlaced, 1822-1842

Antique Lamp (Lampe Antique), March 30, 1832, to October 22, 1841, Gold and Silver strikes. Any gold or silver medal issued before 1832 with any mark is a restrike.

Anchor and C interlaced (Ancre et C), October 22, 1841, to Sept. 25, 1842. Bronze, Silver, Gold.

Ancient Prow (Prou Antique), Sept. 26, 1842 to June 12, 1845.

Pointing Hand (Main Indicatrice), June 23, 1845, to October 31, 1860.

Bee (Abeille), Nov. 1, 1860 – Dec. 31, 1879.

Cornucopia (Corne d'Abondance), Jan. 1, 1880 to 1898, and 1901.

No symbol on edge 1897-1920

Matte finish plus Cornucopia, 1921-present (Breen)

Cornucopia plus date of actual striking, 1966-present.

At one time numbers 1, 2, or 3 joined Argent to distinguish fineness in the economically disturbed decades after World War I:

Argent1 = Premier titre, believed 0.925 (sterling).

Argent2 = 0.900.

Argent3 = 0.835. This was the post-1867 statutory fineness for French minor coins of 2 Francs to 20 Centimes and cognate coins of the Latin Monetary Union nations.

INDEX

100 Greatest medal list 12, 18

— A —

abatis 16, 49
Académie 27,38-39, 49, 56, 63,67,68
Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 28
Adams, John 10, 27
Aeneid 22
Albany conference 41
Alden, Rev. Timothy 79
Alfred ship 66
Ambassador to France 10
America, personification of 72-4
America's First Medals 68
American Colonization society 68
American Philosophical Society 8
Andre, Maj. John 60
Appleton, Daniel Webster 8
Argonauts 7
Aristocracy 41
Arnold, Benedict 8, 29, 30, 49, 60
Arnold, engraving by Hall 30
Arranged marriages 86
Arrows in right talons 74
Associated medals 82
Astronomica 22
Athena 18

— B —

Bankruptcy 77-8
Barber, Charles 16, 49, 74, 79
Barber, William 68, 79
Barre dies of Morgan medal 56
Bartlett, Paul Wayland 91
Baum Lt. Col. 330
Bemis Heights 29, 30,
Bentley, Anne 8
Betsy ship 66
Betts, C. Wyllys 82
Black Sea Fleet 68
Bonhomme Richard 66
Boone, Daniel 54
Boston 1776 map 45
Boudinot, Elias 11, 20
Braddock, Brig. 42
Braddock's expedition 42
Brandywine, Battle of 49, 86
Bravery medal list 12
Breymann, Lt. Col. 29
Brisbane, Capt. John 15
Britannia 18
Brogniart, Alexandre 11
Bulkeley, Anne 27
Bunker Hill, Battle of 42
Burgoyne, Maj. Gen. John 29-30, 55
Burr, Aaron 31
Byng, Admiral John 84

— C —

Calonne, Finance Minister 40
Camden, Battle of 33, 59
Camerarius, Joachim 10
Cannae, Battle of 53
Carter, Anne 77
Cass, Lewis 56
Catherine II 68

Caunois Lafayette medal 88, 89
Caunois, Francois 88
Chain across Hudson 15
Charleston, SC 31
Chew, Benjamin 60-1
Chew, Peggy 60-1
Chrysomallos 7
Cincinnati Society 28, 51
Clérmont 40, 46, 51, 53
Cliché 44
climatology 10
Clinton, Maj. Gen George 15, 31
Colchis 7
Comitia Americana 8
Committee of Five 10
Congress of confederation 77
Constitution Island 15
Continental Congresses 72
Continental Currency 10
Copley medal 10
Cornwallis, Lord 31, 33, 53-4, 59,88
Corps of Engineers, US 16
Cosway, Maria 38
Countess of Scarborough ship 67
Covenant chain 41
Cowpens Battle of 33, 53-4
Crevecoeur, John 30
Cumberland, Fort 42

— D —

d'Estaing, Admiral 15, 67, 87
de Fleury history 15, 16
de Fleury medal 15-17, 38, 51
de Fleury medal details 16,17
de Fleury, Lt. Col. 11
Declaration of Ind painting 10,11
Declaration of Independence 18
De Grasse 67
Deism 11
Denham 9
Dinwiddie, Robert 41
Diplomatic medal 71-76, 78, 82
Diplomatic medal copy die 74
Diplomatic medal dies 74
Dorchester Heights 43
double envelopment strategy 53
Du Simitiere 28, 38
Duchesse Rosalie de la Rochefoucauld 68
Duddington, Lt. William 31
Duplessis, Joseph 10
Dupré Augustin 11,16, 18, 21,22,24,28, 33, 39, 72
Duquesne, Fort 41, 42
Duvivier, Benjamin 11, 16, 28. 33, 39, 44, 60, 63, 82, 91
Duvivier, Jean 16

— E —

Edge markings on Paris medals 24
Edgehill 53
electricity 10
Electrotypes 8, 35, 49
Electrotyping process 80
Estates General 88
Estates, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th 40
Eutaw Springs, Battle 31, 33, 59, 63
Explanation of medal, Franklin 18
Eye of Providence 84

— F —

Fabian strategy 33, 43
 Fairfax, William 41
 Fallen Timbers, Battle of 49
 Federal hall NYC 40
 Fellow of Royal Society 10, 27
 Ferry Farm 40
 Fidelity medallion 60, 82
 Fleury medal 15-17
 Folger, Abiah 9
 Folger, Capt. Timothy 9
 Ford, John 20
 Franklin Genius 1784 medal 22-25
 Franklin life 8-12
 Franklin medals 7-14, 22-26, 82
 Franklin Nini medal 13
 Franklin Philadelphia medal 22
 Franklin stove 10
 Franklin, Benjamin 11, 18, 27, 66, 87
 Franklin, Francis 9
 Franklin, James 9
 Franklin, Sally 9
 Franklin, Temple history 71-2
 Franklin, William 9, 11
 Franklin's Explanation of medal 18
 Franklin's pymt for Lib Ameri 18
 Franklin's tombstone 11
 Freeman's Farm 30
 French and Indian War 42, 54
 French Revolution 40, 72, 78, 88
 frontiersmen 54
 Fugio Cent 10

— G —

Gaspee Affair 31
 Gates medal 28, 29, 34
 Gates medal details 31, 32
 Gates, Gen Horatio 29, 30, 33, 55, 87
 Gates, painting by Stuart 29
 Gatteaux, Nicolas 28, 30, 33, 82
 Germantown, battle of 49, 60
 Gibelin, Esprit Antoine 18, 20
 Gibraltar 84
 glass harmonica 10
 Golden Fleece order 7
 Governor of New Jersey 11
 Grand, Mr. banker in Paris 72
 grapeshot 53
 Great chain across Hudson 15
 Great Siege of Gibraltar 84
 Great War of Empire 41
 Green Mountain Boys 29
 Green, Kitty 35
 Greene copy dies 35
 Greene medal 28, 31, 33-35
 Greene portrait by Peale 34
 Greene, Maj. Gen. history 31, 33
 Greene, Maj. Gen. Nathanael 27, 29, 34, 53-4, 59
 Greenville Treaty 49
 Guilford Courthouse, Battle of 33, 54, 77
 gunmetal dies 8, 45

— H —

Hall, David 9
 Hamilton, Lt. Col. Alexander 88
 Hancock, John 11
 Hannibal 53-4

Hanson, Alexander 78
 Harlem Heights 43
 Hera 18
 Hercules 18
 Heroic medal classification 37
 Hessians 29
 HMS Gaspee 31
 HMS Serapis 66
 Horsemanship 41
 Houdon, Jean Antoine 28, 33, 39, 45, 67
 Howard copy dies 65
 Howard medal 46, 60, 62-65
 Howard dies state 1 and 2 65
 Howard equestrian statue 63
 Howard, Lt. Col John 33, 53-4
 Howard, Lt. Col. John history 60-3
 Howe, Maj Gen Sir Wm 31, 43, 55, 87
 Huddy, Joshua 11
 Hudson chain 15
 Hudson River Valley 32
 Humphreys, LT. Col. David 8, 27, 28, 33, 34, 39, 56
 Hunting creek 40
 Huntington, Samuel 78
 Hutchinson, Thomas 10

— I, J —

Iconography 21
 Jason and Argonauts 7
 Jay, John 10, 29, 34, 68
 Jefferson, Thomas appointments 38
 Jefferson gives medals to W'ton 40
 Jefferson Stony Point medals 46-52
 Jefferson, Martha 38
 Jefferson, Randolph 38
 Jefferson, Thomas 8, 10, 18, 27, 28, 34, 53, 67-68, 71-72, 78-79, 38-40
 Jefferson, Thomas History 38-40
 Jefferson, Thomas in Paris 38-40
 Jefferson's medals 40
 Jefferson's slaves 38
 John Brig 66
 Johnson, William 42
 Jones medal 68-70
 Jones copy dies 68
 Jones, John Paul 77
 Jones, John Paul history 66
 Julian, R. W. 31
 Jumonville 41
 Junto 9

— K —

Keith, Sir William 9
 King George's War 42
 King William's War 42
 King's Ferry 15
 King's Mountain, Battle of 33
 Knox, Col 43
 Kosciusko, Col Thaddeus 29, 30

— L —

La Hogue, Battle of 41
 Lafayette 1900 dollar 91
 Lafayette meets Washington pic 87
 Lafayette Vengeur medal 82, 86-91

Lafayette with W'ton pic 88
 Lafayette, history 86
 Lafayette, Marquis 16, 67
 Laurens, Henry 46, 51
 Lebanon, CT 35
 Lee copy dies 79
 Lee die summary 80
 Lee engraved medal 80
 Lee Paulus Hook medal 78-81
 Lee mystery dies 79
 Lee, Henry 15, 33
 Lee, Maj. Gen. 87
 Lee, Maj. Henry history 77-78
 Lee, Richard Henry 66
 Lee, Robert E. 15, 77, 78
 Leesylvania 77
 Letters from an American Farmer 29
 Lewis, Rev. 8
 Lexington and Concord, Battles 55
 Libera Soror medal 71
 Libertas Americana 11, 18-21, 38, 82
 Light Horse Harry Lee 77
 Lincoln, Maj. Gen. 58
 List of related medals 82
 List of valor medals 82
 Lists 95-96
 Little Gibraltar 15
 Livingstone, Robert 10, 11, 20
 Longacre, James 46, 60, 64
 Loubat, J. F. 82
 Louis XVI 18, 21, 30, 39, 68
 Louisbourg, Fort 42
 Luzerne, Marquis de la 72

— M —

Machin, Capt. 15
 Mahon, Battle of 84-5
 Marcou, Prof. 74
 Margolis, Richard 12
 Massachusetts Historical Soc 8
 Medalists, French 40
 Medallie Washington 44
 Meig's raid 27
 Menchell, David 51
 Miami confederacy 49
 Minerva 18
 Molly Pitcher 87
 Monmouth Courthouse, Battle 87
 Monroe, Pres. James 88
 Montgomery, Maj. Gen. 55
 Monticello 53
 Montmorin, Comte de 72
 Morgan medal 46, 56-7
 Morgan, Brig. Daniel history 53-7
 Morgan, Daniel 29, 30, 33, 53-7
 Morris, Gouverneur 68, 72
 Morris, Robert 11, 28, 72
 Mount Vernon 40, 42
 Moustier, Comte de 72
 Murfree, Maj. 15
 Musante, Neil 44
 Musée de Monnaies 20
 Myrvoix 12

— N —

Nantes 12

Nantucket	9	Sandblast dies	68	US Great Seal	72
Napoleon	88	Sandy Hill	59	USS Bonhomme Richard	66
Naval Academy, US	68	Saratoga, Battles of	18, 29, 30, 55	USS Providence	66
Necker, Jacques	40	Saratoga, home	55-6	— V —	
Neville, Jesse	56	Savannah	31	Valley Forge	49, 87
Neville, Morgan	56	Scott, Robert	79	valor	7
New Jersey Governor	11	Second continental Congress	11	Valor medal list	12
Newport, RI	15	Sellers and Hall	9	Van Berkel, Mr.	72
Ninety-Six, Fort	53	Serapis	66	Van Wart, Isaac	60
Noirmoutier Island	12	shells	44	Verplanck's Point	15
Northern plan, British	30, 31, 53	Sherman, Roger	10	Vindicta	21
Northwest Indian War	49	Shirley, William	42	Von Jacobi, M.H. electrotypist	80
— O —		Short, William	29, 34, 67, 72, 78	— W —	
Ohio River Valley	41, 49	Short, William life	67	Wadsworth Athenium	34
Order of Golden Fleece	7	Siege of Gibraltar	84	Wadsworth stables	34
order of medal striking	12	Sinecures	40	Wadsworth, Daniel	34
— P —		Smith, Adam	9	Wadsworth, Jeremiah	34
Paris original strikes	8	Snipers	55	Walking Liberty half dollar	21
Passy, France	18	Society of Cincinnati	51	War of 1812	78
Patten, Simon, Dr.	9	Society Cincinnati badge	28, 68, 82	Washington at Cowpens	59
Patterson US Mint director	35, 59,	Sons of Liberty	31	Washington before Boston	33
Paulding, John	60	Southern plan, British	31, 87	Washington before Boston medal	28, 33, 44-6, 60
Paulus Hook Battle of	53, 77	Spink	12	Washington life mask	39
Peace of Paris medal	82-85	Splashers	44	Washington portrait by Peale	43
Peale, Benjamin Franklin	35, 49, 80	St. Clair, Arthur	29, 34	Washington resigning commission	27
Peale, Charles Willson	55	St. Frédéric, Fort	42	Washington silver medal set	8, 37-46, 72
Peale, Rembrandt	58	Stahl, Alan	80	Washington Wm gunmetal dies	60
Pelia, King	7	Stamford Hall	78	Washington, Martha	42
pendants	7	Stamp Act	10	Washington, George	87
Penn family	10	Stark, Gen.	29	Washington, George history	40-44
Phalera	7	Staten Island	43, 51	Washington, George	15, 16, 27
Philadelphia	87, 88	Stewart medal	11, 30, 46, 49-52	Washington, George	29, 31, 33, 40-4
Philip the Good	7	Stewart, John history	51	Washington, George Lafayette	44
Phrygian cap	21	Stewart, Lt. Col. John	15, 51, 59	Washington, Lawrence	40, 41
Physiocratic theorists	22	Stewart, Stephen	51	Washington, Lt. Col. Wm	33, 51, 54-60
Pickens, Col. Andrew	54	Stony Point, Battle of	15, 16, 49	Washington, William history	58
Pierres, Philippe	20	Strategies to win war	43	Washington, William medal	46, 60
Pileus	21	Stuart, Gilbert, painting of Gates	29	Washington, Wm copy dies	60
pincer strategy	53	Sullivan, Maj. Gen	51	Washington, George's estate	43
Poinsett, Joel	56	Surrender of Burgoyne painting	31	Washington George's horses	34
Pollock, James Mint Director	60, 65	suspended medals	8	Washington George's slaves	43
Poor Richard's Almanac	8, 9	— T —		Waxhaws, Battle of	33, 53
preliminary spreadsheet	14	table medals	8	Way to Wealth, Franklin	9
Privy Council	10	Table of medals	92-93	Wayne copy dies	49
Proofs	44	Tarkieu, Jacques	16	Wayne medal	11, 46-49
PTSD	78	Tarleton, Banastre, Lt.Col	33, 53-5, 59	Wayne portrait by Sharples	46
Putnam, Gen. Israel	27, 43	Texel Island	67	Wayne, Brig. Daniel	15, 48, 88
pyrrhic victory	54	Theft of Morgan's medal	56	Wayne, Brig. Daniel history	48
— Q —		Third Estate	40	Wealth of nations	9, 22
Quebec	55	Thomson, Charles Sec of	72	Webster, Daniel Sen.	8, 56
Queen Anne's War	42	Congress	72	West Point	15
— R —		Ticonderoga, Fort	290	West, Benjamin	71
Randolph, Thomas Mann	53	Time line of Am Rev	37	Whiskey Rebellion	55
Ratification of constitution	43	Timeline of medal events	94	Williams, David	60
Raymond, Wayte	68	torq	7	Windham, CT	78
Read, Deborah	9	Tranche	46	Wolfe, Maj. Gen James	42
rebus	10	Treaty of Paris	43, 49, 88	Wright, Joseph	78-80
refrigeration	10	Treaty of Paris medal	84-5	Wright, Patience	78
Reign of Terror	68	trophies	7	Wright's Washington portrait	78
related medals	12, 82	Trumbull, John painting	31	— X, Y, Z —	
Riflemen	53	Trumbull, John. W'ton resigning	27	Yorktown	88
Rochambeau, Gen.	67, 87	Turgot, Anne	22	Yorktown monumental pillar	18
Roettiers, Joseph Charles	16, 82	Turnbull, John	10, 11, 27, 55	Yorktown, Battle of	11, 18, 27, 43
Royal Society	10	types of medals	8	Zeus	18
— S —		— U —			
Sag Harbor, NY	27	University Pennsylvania	8		
		US Mint restrikes	8		



Passionate collector, Dr. Peter Jones, describes his fascination with America's first medals. Commonly called Comitia Americana and related medals, these were what Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and others spent many hours to create. This book tells the stories behind these medals. Peter trained at Cambridge and Oxford Universities, UK, doing a dual residency in Family Practice and Internal Medicine. In 1977 he immigrated with his wife, Ann, and their three daughters to rural Connecticut, where he practiced Internal Medicine for 39 years. His avocations have included classical piano playing, flamenco and classical guitar playing, American financial history, magic and numismatics. He has also authored *Notable Notes*, *Colonial History in Your Hands*, *Dow Jones by Peter Jones*, *Commemorative Coin Tales*, and with Cynthia Adams, *Therapeutic Communication*, now in its third edition.

